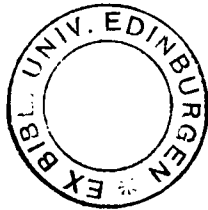


PRIMITIVE BELIEFS ABOUT THE DEAD
AS A PREPARATION
FOR THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE
OF IMMORTALITY

by

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Introduction.

The Term 'Primitive'.

"The conception that the dead continue to live in their tombs with their accustomed occupations and desires is of a very primitive character- probably indeed the oldest of all beliefs". (1) When Prof. Martin P. Nilsson says this he perhaps unconsciously assumes a belief which is older, or at least as old- the belief that the dead continue to live. If a belief could be proved by a counting of heads, the belief that man in some way or another survives death would be one of the most securely established tenets of human faith. As far back as we have means of tracing belief we have traces of this belief. If there are beliefs then that may be called primitive, this belief- that the dead survive death- has a strong claim to be one of them.

It is plain, however, that we cannot use the term 'primitive' in any absolute sense. So far as we are aware, we have no means of penetrating to the thoughts of the

(1) The Minoan- Mycenaean Religion & its Survival in Greek Religion, p.539.

first of mankind, and so any use we make of the term must be a relative one. We may, for example, set down the attitude to the dead of the earliest races of mankind, and consider that as near to the primitive as we can get. But we would know nothing, or next to nothing, of the earliest races of mankind if it were not for their burial customs, and burial customs imply a belief in survival, as Cicero notes in the *Tusculan Disputations*. (I, 12, 27.) Speaking of the immortality of the soul he supports the belief by stating that it has come down from the earliest times, and that there can be no explanation of the old pontifical law as to funerals and burials, the violation of which was an inextinguishable crime, except such a belief. Cumont calls this the remark of a very judicious observer. (1). Certainly the fact that very early races buried their dead, and the ways in which they did so, enable us to make some inferences at least about what they held concerning the dead.

But we must not assume that this is the only way in which we can get at primitive belief about the dead. Even the earliest known burials, as we have seen, are not primitive in any absolute sense, nor are the beliefs inferred from them necessarily the earliest to which we have access. Primitive races have not all perished from the earth. Such a race only very recently died out in

(1) Condensed from F. Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism*, p.44.

the Tasmanians, while Perry begins his argument on the Growth of Civilisation by showing that an early type of man, primitive enough for his purpose, still exists on earth.(1). This use of the word is obviously not a chronological one, but simply points to the condition of these races. They are in a primitive state: their 'culture' is a primitive one. It is this use of the term with which Lowie begins his book on Primitive Religion.(2). Such races, it is plain to see, have at least as long a history as the most highly civilised ones, and so, in the chronological sense, can with as little reason be called primitive. But it is only among civilised peoples that beliefs change with any thing like rapidity. Among folks in such lowly stages of culture beliefs may continue for long enough without substantial change, and customs may survive for longer still, substantially the same, even though the explanations of them may alter. For it is a well known fact that men will continue a custom long after its original meaning has been forgotten, and then will invent some other explanation of it. If we can get at such primitive beliefs and customs we shall be able to go back far enough, and among them, as we shall see, is the belief in survival. It is old, and it is universal. The words are the words of Dr. Ruth Benedict, and a passage from

(1) Dr.W.J.Perry, The Growth of Civilisation, p.7.

(2) Dr.Robert H. Lowie, Primitive Religion, p.x.

from the context will provide an admirable way of summing up this whole point of view:-

"Since we are forced to believe that the race of man is one species, it follows that man everywhere has an equally long history behind him. Some primitive tribes may have held relatively closer to primordial forms of behaviour than civilised man, but this can only be relative, and our guesses are as likely to be wrong as right. There is no justification for identifying some one contemporary primitive custom with the original type of human behaviour. Methodologically there is only one means by which we may gain an approximate knowledge of these early beginnings. That is by a study of the distribution of those few traits which are universal or near-universal in human society. There are several that are well known. Of these everyone agrees upon animism, and the exogamous restrictions upon marriage. The conceptions, diverse as they prove to be, of the human soul, and of an after life, raise more question. Beliefs as nearly universal as these we may justifiably regard as exceedingly old human inventions. This is not equivalent to regarding them as biologically determined, for they may have been very early inventions of the human race, 'cradle' traits which have become fundamental in all human thinking. In the last analysis they may be as socially conditioned as any local custom. But they have long since become automatic in human behaviour. They are old, and they are universal. All this, however, does not make the forms which can be observed to-day the original forms that arose in primordial times. Nor is there any way of reconstructing these origins from the study of their varieties. One may isolate the universal core of the belief and differentiate from this its local forms, but it is still possible that the trait took its rise in a pronounced local form, and not in some original least common denominator of all observed traits".(1).

That, then, is plain enough. Present day races have all an equally long history behind them, though some in life and belief are nearer to the primitive than others. A few beliefs are old and practically universal, and these may

(1) Patterns of Culture, pp 18f.

be taken to be, in a relative sense, primitive. Of these one is the belief in survival, in an after life, while another is the belief in the soul. It is an interesting conclusion.

We are not bound, however, to regard these methods as mutually exclusive. Prof. G. Elliot Smith protests against the misuse of the term primitive of which many modern ethnologists are guilty, and defines the true use. "It is legitimate to employ it with reference to really early types of mankind and to survivals of practises and beliefs which have come down from the very childhood of the human race".(1). This implies the use of both methods, and Karsten definitely states that both must be used, since one is supplementary to the other. "By studying

the various forms of burial and the objects found in old graves, we have obtained information about the religious beliefs of many ancient peoples whose intellectual culture would otherwise have remained entirely unknown. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that a given practice does not in itself give sure knowledge as to the ideas which originally underlay it. The archaeological grave-finds, therefore, cannot be of real value for the history of religion until they are supplemented by the facts supplied by ethnology with regard to the religious beliefs of primitive peoples living to-day."(2).

But we have still another protest to consider. Dr.S.H.

Hooke would regard it as begging the question "to describe the myths and practises of Australian aborigines or Polynesian islanders as representing the behaviour and mentality of primitive man". Certainly it would be foolish to accept without check or criticism every belief

(1) The Evolution of Man, p.49.

(2) Prof. Raphael Karsten, The Origins of Religion, p.276.

of such races as coming down to us from remotest antiquity. This is one of the misuses against which Elliot Smith also protests, in the reference already given. Dr. Hooke has his own definition of primitive. "The term primitive is a purely relative one. The only kind of behaviour or mentality which we can recognise as primitive in the strict sense is such as can be shown to lie historically at the fountainhead of a civilisation. The earliest civilisations known to us are those of Egypt and Mesopotamia, and the earliest evidence which we can gather concerning the beliefs and practices there prevalent constitutes for us what is primitive in the historical sense... Behind the myths of Greece, in the regions of the world's most ancient civilisations, there lie those modes of behaviour which are primitive for us in the sense that they are the source of the great body of Myth and Ritual characteristic of ancient culture." (1).

But this also, I venture to say, is not an alternative but a supplement. It means taking history at its fountainhead, where it emerges from prehistory, as a supplement to, and an interpreter of, the prehistoric. It gives us folklore as a helper, as Sir G. L. Gomme has shown us in a well known book, and Jevons, and many another. (2). So survivals into historical times, whether from traditional or literary sources become available by this method as an aid to our quest.

On reflection then it will be seen that by each of these methods, used with due care, and where necessary used as supplementing each other, we can get access to a body of beliefs and practices which may reasonably be

(1) Dr. S. H. Hooke, *Myth & Ritual*, pp. 1f.

(2) Sir G. L. Gomme, *Folklore as an Historical Science*. Dr. F. B. Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*, 6th. Ed., pp. 16f. E. Hull, *Folklore of the British Isles*, pp. 1f. Dr. A. H. Krappe, *The Science of Folklore*, pp. xv ff.

called primitive for us. If we find, as I think we shall, that they all bear witness to the primitive origin and character of the belief in survival, we may take it as proved that it is a truly primitive one.

By three lines of approach then, we propose getting at primitive beliefs about the dead-

I- The Burial Customs of the Earliest Known Races.

II- The Beliefs and Customs of Savage Peoples in a Primitive State Regarding the Dead.

III-Survivals of Primitive Beliefs into Historical Times.

These will show us, I venture to say, that the belief that life ends at death was not a belief of primitive man, and seems to be a product of relatively late reflection; that the belief in survival is universal, in the sense that, wherever we go, or however far back we go, we fail to reach a time or a place in which it is totally absent; and that, when the first Christians turned their minds, aglow with the wonder of the experience which had come to them in Christ, to thoughts of death and of the life everlasting, the resultant belief had in it elements coming down from a dateless antiquity, which had been an aid to their thinking, and a preparation for their teaching.

I

The Burial Customs
of the
Earliest Known Races.

1- The Earliest Known Men.

The earliest traces which we have of man are his tools and the remains of his fires. The tools are of flint or some other suitable stone, and the age is named "the Stone Age" from them. To attempt to date the beginning of the Stone Age is only to make a guess, and there are wide differences between the guesses which have been made, but the earlier part of the period is known as the Palaeolithic or Old Stone Age, the later as the Neolithic or New Stone Age. The basis of this division consists in the fact that in the former period men made their tools by flaking or chipping, in the later by polishing. Elliot Smith and others propose, as a better arrangement, a division according to peoples. The period down to the disappearance of Mousterian man they would call Palaeoanthropic, while they would call Neanthropic the period from then till our own times.(1). Menghin proposes still another division.(2). He would call the

(1) The Evolution of Man, pp.89ff.; Dorothy Davidson, Men of the Dawn, p.36, &c.

(2) Oswald Menghin, Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit, pp.17f.

first period the Protolithic, for obvious reasons. It is to all intents and purposes Elliot Smith's Palaeolithic phase, and takes in what are usually called the Early- and the Mid-Palaeolithic. His second period is the Miolithic, from Greek "Meion" less. During this period man more and more made use of other materials for his tools, and so became less and less dependent upon stone. It takes in the Upper- or Late-Palaeolithic, and the transition phases leading on to the Neolithic, sometimes called Mesolithic. There are various sub-divisions, especially of the Neolithic, but for our purpose we need not go into them. For our purpose will be served if we can get a good general scheme in which to arrange our data in relation to each other, and this one seems well suited to that purpose, emphasising as it does two great changes or revolutions in prehistory, namely the disappearance of Mousterian man and the coming on the scene of Homo Sapiens at the end of the first period, and the emergence of civilisation as we know it with agriculture, pottery, and the rest at the end of the second. It must also be borne in mind that it is not in any way implied that these periods were even approximately equal. The first was an immensely long period, much longer than the other two put together, while the second is at least several times longer than the third.

Man shows his presence first of all then in his tools and the remains of his fuel,(1), but neither of these

(1) On fuel see Menghin, p.90.

in itself can give us any aid in discovering what the men who used them thought of the dead. We are little better off when we come on remains of the men themselves. Where there are signs of ceremonial burial we may assume a good deal, but the earliest fragments of humanity of which we have knowledge afford us no evidence as to whether they were buried or not. That they were not is often assumed, but there is no evidence one way or the other. The statement of the

Quennells (1) that "the Piltdown man, and his cousin of Java, and the man of Heidelberg, just dropped in their tracks, were brought down by the river currents, settled into the mud, and were covered up by gravel,"

is an assumption, just as much as would be the assertion that they had been buried. Of the "Erect Ape-man" of Java nothing on the subject can be asserted with confidence. The remains- a skull top, two or three teeth, and a left thigh bone- were found at different times, and, though close together, at different places.(2). Even if they belong to one individual, which is doubtful, and, with the exception of the thigh bone, which is certainly human, were not, as Obermaier suggests,(3) the remains of a giant Pleistocene gibbon, "it is not

(1) M. & C.H.B. Quennell, *Everyday Life in Prehistoric Times*, Vol. I, p.49. Cf. also D. Davison, *Men of the Dawn*, p.56- "Still men lived in the open, and when they died their bodies were not buried, so that in time their bones were often washed by floods".

(2) Most books on Prehistory give a description of *Pithecanthropus Erectus*-E.g., Dr. Hugo Obermaier, *Fossil Man in Spain*, 317-320, G. Elliot Smith, *The Evolution of Man*, 59f., & *The Search for Man's Ancestors*, 10-20, &c.

(3) *Fossil Man in Spain*, 320.

possible to determine whether these fossil bones are in their original situation, or whether they have been re-deposited." (1).

The same doubt is present with regard to the famous Piltdown skull. It was found first of all by workmen digging gravel, who broke it up and threw the fragments aside. (2).

As for the Mauer jawbone, there are one or two things to be said. Its great age is undoubted- it is at least as old as the Piltdown skull- and it is "beautifully preserved". There are no other human remains in the vicinity, and yet one would think that there are other parts of the skeleton at least as likely to persist as the jawbone, massive as it is. The individual may have been drowned, for the sands are those of a river bed.(3).

On the other hand, we may have come on our first trace of primitive beliefs about the dead. Menghin draws attention to the "pretty frequent finds of isolated lower jawbones in Mousterian strata". These are difficult to date but he considers it not unlikely that some reach back to the early Protolithic Age, and the Protolithic is the earliest of his three great divisions of the Stone Age. Then he goes on- "Breuil is of the opinion that these isolated lower jawbones are not chance appearances, but thinks them to have a connection with the cult of the dead. Among many primitive peoples, as for example the Tasmanians, the wife,

(1) Fossil Man in Spain, 317.

(2) Most text books describe the Piltdown Skull, and the Mauer Jaw. Also British Museum Guide to the Fossil Remains of Man. Elliot Smith has a chapter in Search for Man's Ancestors, on both.(pp.21-29).

(3) See prev.note, & especially Obermaier on Mauer Jaw.

as is well known, carries about with her for a long time part of the skeleton of her husband. It is possible that we have here archaeological evidence of a like custom". (1).

Obermaier has a somewhat similar remark,(2), and a number of other references which might properly be said to belong to the second section may be given as throwing some light on the subject. Says M. W. Thomas:- "The head is often regarded as the seat of the soul, and in the East Indies this is the reason given for preserving the jawbone".(3).

Hartland tells us how the Kai-folk of New Guinea defend themselves against the great wind storms which occasionally do so much havoc to their huts:- "They take one of the jawbones of wild beasts which hang in the hut as trophies of the chase, put it in the fire and pray the storm spirit to accept the soul of the deceased animal and spare the house."(4).

Karsten, quoting Codrington, says:- "A dead man's bone has with it mana, because the ghost is with the bone".(5).

In his chapter on Mythology in Primitive Culture, Tyler tells the New Zealand myth of Maui, and it is to be noted that many of the exploits of the hero, including "his most famous feat of fishing up New Zealand", were performed with the "Miraculous jawbone" of his ancestress, which she gave him when he paid her a visit in the Underworld.(6)

(1) Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit, p.100.

(2) Fossil Man in Spain, p.137.

(3) Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics,(ERE) I,499b.

(4) E.S.Hartland, Ritual & Belief, p.179.

(5) Origins of Religion, p.41.

(6) Primitive Culture, 2nd.Ed., I, 343f.

In this way, no doubt, the mighty power of the dead was made available for the hero.

Frazer mentions the subject several times, as for example, when he tells how the jawbone is taken out before second burial and preserved,(1), or worn by a widow on her dead husband's girdle,(2), or offered in sacrifice to the war-god,(3), or used in New Caledonia by a wizard when he wishes to make sunshine and invokes the help of his ancestors.(4). Most apposite of all is the reference to the Baganda, from Roscoe, which he uses more than once.

"Among them the ghosts of dead kings were placed on an equality with the gods and received the same honour and worship... The king consulted them periodically, visiting first one and then another of the temples in which the mortal remains of his predecessors were preserved with religious care. But the temple of a king contained only his lower jawbone and his navel-string; his body was buried elsewhere. For curiously enough the Baganda believed that the part of the body to which the ghost of a dead man adheres above all others is the lower jawbone; wherever that portion of his person may be carried, the ghost, in the opinion of these people, will follow it, even to the ends of the earth, and will be perfectly content to remain with it so long as the jawbone is honoured".(5)

No doubt it was this passage too which Goldenweiser

had in mind when he wrote:- "Ghosts clung with special tenacity to the lower jawbone, and if this was removed the ghosts would follow it anywhere, hence the jawbones of kings were preserved for many generations, and their power was great."(6)

These references then, may suffice to throw some light

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- (1) Sir J.G.Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, I, 234f, 274.
(2) *Op.cit.* I, 204. (3) *Op.cit.* II, 258f.
(4) *Golden Bough*, Vol. I, (The Magic Art) pp. 312f.
(5) *Op.cit.* Vol. VI (Adonis, Attis, Osiris, II.) 167ff, 197.
(6) A.A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilisation*, p. 98.

on what Breuil and Menghin and Obermaier probably had in mind when they state that some of the finds of isolated lower jawbones in Protolithic strata may have a connection with the cult of the dead. Here is an isolated jawbone then, and a well preserved one at that, when every other trace of the individual has vanished, and it is tempting to regard it as significant.

"Pekin Man" was made known to the world in our own time by the discovery of isolated teeth, then followed in 1928 "fragments of two jaws and brain cases". One jaw fragment is that of a child, the other that of an adult. A year later the almost complete skull of an adolescent boy was discovered, while next year again the fragments of the skull of a woman more than ten years older than the boy came to light. Meanwhile "in the material found in 1928" remains of two other broken skulls turned up.(1). The number and nature of these discoveries suggest, to say the least of it, something very like an early cemetery, but one cannot go farther than that, since it is impossible to say from the descriptions whether they have been formally buried or not. Fragments of white quartz foreign to the locality which made Dr. J. G. Andersson, a Swedish geologist say: "Here is primitive man; now all we have to do is to find him,"(2) may call up the thought of grave goods; and we may suspect

(1) The Search for Man's Ancestors, pp.32-44. Cf. also the briefer account in Adam's Ancestors, by Dr. L.S.B. Leakey, pp.181-4.

(2) Adam's Ancestors, p.181.

that the later Mousterian burial customs had a history before the familiar cave burials appear; but suspicion is as far as we are likely to get.

Finally, there is the "Kanam Mandible," discovered by Dr. Leakey so recently as March, 1932. It "represents the oldest yet discovered true ancestor of modern man," (1) and "we know now that the makers of the Chellean culture- at least in East Africa- were of the same species as modern man, and quite unlike Neanderthal man". (2). The Kanam jawbone is not nearly so well preserved as the Mauer jawbone, but it seems at least as old, and may give rise to similar thoughts.

It may be argued, however, that if the people of that remote time had buried their dead we would have found traces of it somewhere. That does not by any means follow. The bones of human beings are comparatively speaking fragile, and the conditions of man's life were not such as made for the fossilising of his remains. Until he took to the caves, or the cold of the glaciation drove him there, he lived and died in the open, and if he was buried at all, was buried there. This is Dr. Leakey's description of graves found at Njoro in East Africa. They were "full-length graves for extended burials, and all the graves exposed were parallel to each other. Unfortunately all the human bones had disintegrated completely, and only a few very small fragments were found". (3).

As these graves were of a much later date than the remote time with which we are dealing, the probable fate

(1) Adam's Ancestors, pp.206f.

(2) Op.cit., p.210.

(3) The Stone Age Cultures of Kenya Colony, pp.204f.

of any human remains of that time is obvious. Except in extremely favourable circumstances they are not likely to have been preserved. Then too the population must have been very sparse, since no countryside can maintain for long more than a strictly limited number of wandering hunters(1)When we take these things into account it is not surprising that we have come on so few remains of the people of the time, and so can say next to nothing of their burial customs, and consequently of their beliefs about the dead.

(1) In his latest book, *Man Makes Himself*, Prof. V. Gordon Childe deals with this subject several times. E.g. on p.40- "In the "Old Stone Age" (palaeolithic period) men relied for a living entirely on hunting, fishing, and gathering wild berries, roots, slugs, and shell-fish. Their numbers were restricted by the provision of food made for them by Nature, and seem actually to have been very small." Again on p.60- "In early to middle pleistocene times the human family was probably a numerically small group, comparable in size to that of contemporary man-like apes." See also pp.79f.

2- A Mousterian Burial.

With the Mousterians, or Neanderthal folks, we arrive at a very different state of affairs. They used to be considered as preceding Homo Sapiens, though not in any sense an ancestor of his, but evidence is now accumulating which goes to show that they were contemporaries at least, and that our own ancestry goes back much farther than was believed likely. Since that, however, does not concern our argument, it will be sufficient to say that the Mousterians, so far as we know, were the first to make their homes in caves. Caves seem to have been inhabited sporadically before the last great glaciation, but it can readily be imagined that the cold of this time, which seems to have been the worst cold experienced till then, drove mankind to shelter wherever the ice prevailed. In the caves men lived then, and in the caves they died, and there also they were buried; and since burials there were more likely to be preserved than in the open, we have, comparatively speaking, a goodly number of them. These put beyond doubt that, if ever there was a time when man simply abandoned his dead, it is now long past. True burial, in the full

sense of the word, was practised by the "earliest cave man known to Europe". This has been doubted, but as Menghin says, quite unjustly.(1). Indeed there seems to be a tendency now the other way- a tendency to recognise, reluctantly or generously as the case may be, that the Mousterians did formally bury their dead, and so may at least be assumed to have believed "in a continuity of life, for which the dead were provided with tools, &c."(2). The testimony of Prof. V. Gordon Childe, as the latest available, is conclusive and even generous-

"Historically the most notable fact about the Mousterians is the care they devoted to the disposal of the dead. More than a dozen Neanderthal skeletons have been found in France, ritually buried in the caves where their group lived. Generally attempts had been made to protect the body. At La Chapelle aux Saintes several skeletons lay each in a shallow grave dug in the cave floor. The head sometimes rests on a stone pillow, with stones above and around it to relieve the pressure of the earth. In one instance the head had been severed from the trunk before interment and placed in the grave apart. Not only were the dead carefully interred: their graves were placed near the hearths, as if to warm their occupants. The departed was provided with tools and joints of meat. All this ~~ceremonial~~ bears witness to the activity of human thought in unexpected and uneconomic directions. Faced with the terrifying fact of death, their primitive emotions shocked by its ravages, the bestial-looking Mousterians had been roused to imaginative thinking. They would not believe in the complete cessation of earthly life, but dimly imagined some sort of continuance thereof in which the dead would still need material food and implements..... Perhaps a further inference may be hazarded from the disposition of the graves near to hearths. Did the Mousterians somehow hope by the warmth of the fire to restore to the departed a quality the loss of which they recognised as symptomatic of death?(3)

That, then, is one way of looking at it. We can at least

(1) Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit, p.100.(Top of page).
(2) Dr.A.C.Haddon, History of Anthropology, p.90.
(3) Man Makes Himself, pp.61f.

say that Mousterian man refused to accept the fact of death. Somehow he would not accept its naturalness nor its necessity. Dr. R. R. Marett has long pondered on the facts, and he is prepared to go further. In 1912 he wrote- "And yet they were men enough, had brains enough, to believe in a life after death." (1). Here is how he amplifies that twenty years after- "Thus, then, so far as force of will could do it, Neanderthal man, to whom we grudge the name of Homo Sapiens, achieved a future life. There can be no question, I think, that the experts are right in attributing to him deliberate burials with due provision for a hereafter. It is even noticeable that funeral custom is already beyond its earliest stage. At La Chapelle aux Saintes, for instance, not only is the grave neatly dug and food laid by conveniently, but a cave too small for habitation has evidently been selected for a purely sepulchral purpose. If there was a time when the dead man was left simply lying by himself within his own cave-home, or when, perhaps, the dying man was prematurely abandoned, we are well past it..... We cannot of course tell by poring over the bare relics of that distant past what vague ideas accompanied these funerary practices- whether animism, ancestor worship, a theory of reincarnation, and so forth, were already there, in however rude a shape, to justify what doubtless was at first little more than a collective gesture of defiance, a refusal to accept death's blow without hitting back blindly. There is something very suggestive, however, in the fact that the young man of Le Moustier was buried with his hand near a weapon which is of a type that had become more or less obsolete in his day, and was such as might have come to acquire a purely ceremonial value." (2).

Prof. R. A. S. Macalister would go even further. "We assert as a certainty, not a probability merely, that Mousterian man had a religion. The inference is based on interments, of which several unquestionable examples are now known".(3). These are opinions about the facts, let

(1) Anthropology, (Home University Library), p.p.79f.

(2) Faith, Hope, & Charity in Primitive Religion, pp.25f.

(3) Textbook of European (of ~~European~~) Archaeology, I, p.343.

us now look at the facts themselves. It will hardly be possible, nor is it necessary, to describe the known Mousterian burials in detail. That has already been done by Luquet and others. It will be sufficient to take a typical one as an example, and since that at La Chapelle aux Saintes in the department of Gers in S. W. France, has been mentioned already, and is probably the best known and the most complete, it will perhaps serve.

The cave in which the skeleton was found is a small one, hardly more than a rock shelter indeed, in which it would be difficult to stand upright.(1). As a permanent residence, then, it would be decidedly inconvenient, so that it looks like a place deliberately chosen for the sepulture, and after the ceremony deliberately abandoned to the dead. There are traces of a hearth just inside the entrance- Obermaier speaks of layers of cinders(2)- but from its position it must have been in use after the interment. The grave, which measured 1.85 metres by 1 m. by 35 cm. was shallow, but quite well made. It was oriented, lying east and west, and the body lay on its back with the head to the east. It was in the attitude of sleep, as Obermaier calls it, that is, the legs were flexed, but not in such a violently contorted way as in the case of the La Ferrassie skeleton. Many fine stone instruments were present, some near the hand and some near the feet, mostly of flint but some of quartz. They

(1) Text Book of European Archaeology, I, 345.

(2) Fossil Man in Spain, p.279.

were of characteristic Mousterian form- mostly flakes and scrapers. There were many broken bones, one a bone of a woolly rhinoceros, another a considerable portion of the backbone of a reindeer. Over the head were some long bones lying flat, one of them the leg of a bison, with the small bones still in correct position, suggesting that when it was placed there it was covered with flesh. Last, but not least, there were what Luquet calls "some bits of very ferruginous sandstone, but not of ochre properly so-called",- the forerunner of that red ochre so plentifully found in later burials. (1)

These items can be paralleled from other Mousterian burials, and in addition some of them have striking accompaniments of their own. There is the "carefully arranged pavement of flint implements" on which lay the young man of the lower cave of Le Moustier, and the beautifully worked "coup-de-poing" near his left hand; or the muddy deposit about the female skeleton of La Quina, which leads Menghin and others to speak of drowning, but which Obermaier suggests might be a funeral rite, consisting of the exposure of the dead in water. Now it is difficult to imagine that such burial customs can have sprung into being full born with the Mousterians. They must have a history, and a long history, behind them, and are evidently the product of views about the dead. These thoughts are forever beyond

(1) This description & the details which follow have been compiled mainly from G.-H. Luquet's *Art & Religion of Fossil Man*, H. Obermaier's *Fossil Man in Spain*, W.J. Sollas's *Ancient Hunters*, & O. Menghin's *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit*.

us, but we can at least try to guess at them, with the help of later views and customs.

The dead was buried, and that lets us see that they did not imagine him in a state of suspended animation, a sleep longer than usual, or some sort of continuance of earthly life. If they had there would have been no formal grave in a deserted cavern. The Chinese, who perhaps more than any civilised people have preserved primitive ideas about the dead, take many precautions against the risk of apparent death, and one is that they delay burial for long enough, till there is no doubt of the fact.(1). After that, at the favourable time and place, the corpse is buried. Burial comes when the fact of death is undoubted. Now there are those who would have us believe that death is no mere fact to primitive man. He saw few deaths, and practically never any natural ones. So death was something he simply did not take in. "To them (the earliest men) a dead man must always have seemed a man whose soul or breath or other self had left him, but might possibly return again to the body at any time".(2)

But death was no strange fact to primitive man, Mousterian or other, a fact which he could not take in, and to which he could not adjust himself. If he was lucky he inflicted death every day to get his food, for he was a hunter. On this as on most things he had pondered, as we all do, and the result is reflected in his burial customs. Having thought on it then, he came

(1) Dr. J. J. M. de Groot, The Religious System of China, I, p. xi, (preface) & pp. 11, 29, 74ff., 94, II, 241, 263, &c
(2) Grant Allen, The Evolution of the Idea of God, p. 34.

to the conclusion that life went on in spite of death. He might make many guesses as to how it went on, but he was convinced that it did go on. We know he was because he acted on it. He buried his dead with appropriate ceremony. For that one reason is always given, says Dr. E. Bendann; it is that the dead will not rest, he will walk, if it is not done.(1). For the Babylonians the ghosts of the unburied were the dangerous ones. They roamed about, ready for revenge.(2). The shade of Patroclus asked quick burial from Achilles, for till he passed the fire he must wander,(3), and the soul of Elpenor made the same demand on Odysseus.(4). Melanesia, Australia, India, Siberia, witness to the same belief in our own times.(5). Burial is a benefit to the dead, for "unless the body was disposed of with appropriate ceremony" the dead man would find his way back to his familiar haunts. We may guess that this thought, or the roots from which it grew, was in the mind of Mousterian man when he buried his dead, and it implies survival.

So the dead man is consigned to his grave and it becomes his house, for food is placed there, and the familiar tools and weapons, or else others which have been presented to him. The practice is widespread, and

(1) E. Bendann; Death Customs, p.45.

(2) Op.cit., p.49; R. Campbell Thomson, Cambridge Ancient History, I, p.549; J.T. Addison, Life Beyond Death, p.44, &c.

(3) Iliad, xxiii, 71ff. (4) Odyssey, xi, 74. (Butcher & Lang, 174)

(5) Death Customs, pp.45-50. See especially the wealth of examples from many quarters and times in the note at the foot of pp.48f.

points to a conception of the other life as not substantially different from this. If there had been food alone we might have imagined it there in case the corpse revived, and if there had been tools alone we might have thought of them as polluted by the contagion of death, or unlucky because they had belonged to the dead man, but the collocation seems to me to make it plain that they were meant for equipment for the other life- a life where food and tools would still be needed. "The whole circumstances," says Burkitt on this very burial, "seem to imply a belief in some kind of an existence after death, which in that remote epoch, is surely amazing".(1)

Plainly too, the body is no outworn trammel of the soul cast aside in the tomb. Bodily needs are still assumed, and we cannot take for granted that the idea of a soul, early though that must have been, had yet arisen. Dr. A. Smith Woodward says- "The leg of a bison close to the human skeleton must have been buried with the flesh on it, and may have been intended as food for the departed spirit".(2)

Such a use of the word "spirit" takes an idea for granted for which there is no warrant, unless the fact that some of the tools found in the cave were broken, points to a ritual-breaking to liberate their spirits. But of this later custom there is no sign so early, and Luquet gives the simple and convincing explanation that they were "table utensils" used at feasts, funerary or other, which had plainly taken place in the cave.(3) It is

(1) M.C.Burkitt, The Old Stone Age, p.127.

(2) British Museum Guide to the Fossil Remains of Man, 3rd.Ed.

(3) The Art & Religion of Fossil Man, (Eng.Trans.) pp.166f.

unlikely that such an idea as 'spirit' had yet arisen, or that man had begun to think of death as the permanent separation of soul and body. Primitive man still has difficulty in separating in thought "the visible body from its invisible life- indeed, the whole fact of burial or other funeral honours rests upon this confusion." So, behind the burial impulses of Palaeolithic man, there was this "feeling that the dead body is still not inanimate".(1). This seems likely, especially as the feeling still lingers in modern times, and indeed in the circumstances may almost be considered inevitable. The body was the man, dead but not done with, or at least he was so closely connected with the body that he could not exist without it. This is not to adopt the conception of a pre-animistic stage of thought such as Dr. Marett has argued for in "The Threshold of Religion". That Karsten regards as unproved, and it seems to me that he has made out his case.(2). But that does not commit us to the position that man has always had the theory that death is the permanent exit of the soul or the life principle or whatever one may care to call it. There are traces of a state of mind which must precede this, when the dead is just supposed to be alive there in his grave- as we have seen Nilsson calls this the oldest of all beliefs- and Karsten has not dealt with such traces at all. I find them chiefly behind the

(1) Both quotations come from Dr. H. B. Alexander's article on "Soul (Primitive)" in E.R.E., xi, 726a.

(2) Origins of Religion, pp. 29-48.

vampire superstition- a superstition best known in a relatively modern form, and chiefly among the Slavs of S. E. Europe- but which Montague Summers has shown in two laborious volumes to be both widespread and early,(1) and which bears many traces of primitive origin.

The vampire is not a ghost or a spirit; the vampire is a dead body which continues to live in the grave,(2) from which it issues at night to feed on the blood of the living, for "the blood is the life," as even the Mousterians seem to have known. To destroy the vampire the body must be destroyed, a belief which may throw some light on the rise of the practice of cremation.

That care for the dead body which led later peoples- and notably the Egyptians- to mummify it, and which issued in the preservation of parts of it at least, like jawbones or skulls, as we have already seen, was certainly present. Even in Mousterian times attempts were made to protect it- by large animal bones, as in the present case, or by stones over the body, and especially about the head, as at La Ferrassie. We cannot say whether anything like the idea of soul had occurred to the Mousterians or not, but we can surely say that the body was considered important. We cannot go so far as to say that this far-off fellow human of ours believed in the resurrection of the body,

(1) The Vampire, his Kith & Kin, & The Vampire in Europe. Vampires & Vampirism, by Dudley Wright, Dr. J. A. MacCulloch's article in E.R.E., xli, & De Groot, I, 106f. also deal with the subject

(2) The Vampire, p. 2, "A living dead body"; p. 6, "The vampire has a body, & it is his own body"; & pp. 21, 22, 29 &c.

that is very unlikely indeed, but perhaps he would not have been surprised at what Prof. Gilbert Murray, translating a Christian phrase literally, has called: "The standing up of the corpses".(1)

The La Chapelle body was definitely oriented. Menghin notes that Mousterian graves were nearly always oriented west- east, with the head lying most frequently to the west.(2) In later burials, even where the grave lay north- south, the face of the dead man was usually placed so as to face east or west.(3) As a rule the barrow builders set these up east- west, with the burial in the east end,(4) and it is almost needless to say that the pyramids, the largest tombs ever made, were oriented, one side facing due north, or at least what was due north when they were built, as Petrie insists.(5) Later explanations connect orientation with the journey of the dead to "the land of the forefathers", or the west, or the underworld; and sometimes with the rank of the dead, or with totemism, for occasionally "a man is buried with his head to the point of the compass appropriate to his totem".(6) We may safely regard these as developments of the original idea, and in any case we have no means of knowing which, if any, prevailed in Mousterian times. Rank certainly can have had nothing to do with it, for we have no sign as yet of the rise of anything like chieftainship. It is simple and natural to connect the

(1) Five Stages of Greek Religion, p.165. Cf. Acts xvii, 32.
(2) Weltgeschichte &c. p.100. (3) T.D. Atkinson in E.R.E. x, 76a, 79a, 87a & b. (4) Everyday life in Prehistoric Times, II, 37. (5) E.R.E. x, 76b. (6) Ibid. 74b-75b. also Death Customs, 201, 208f., 223, 245.

custom with the course of the sun, and later explanations give countenance to this, for the land of the dead is often placed in the west where the sun dies at night, or in the land under the earth to which the sun withdraws during the hours of darkness. The sun dies daily and daily comes to life again, and it is the sun which wakes man to each new day. Who shall say that the Mousterians were incapable of thinking in this way, and of expressing at least a hope in the position of their dead?

The dead man of La Chapelle was buried in what Obermaier calls the sleep attitude, that is, his feet were lightly drawn up, as if he were asleep. This is often the attitude of Mousterian burials. It is as if the dead man were placed in a comfortable position, and left to sleep his sleep out. The attitude, however, is more pronounced in the La Ferrassie burials. The man there has his legs very much bent, but the feminine skeleton is in an even more remarkable position. She "was laid upon her right side, the legs very strongly bent back; the flexed right forearm was laid along the thigh, the hand on the knee; the bringing together of the legs and this arm formed an M, a distance of 16 cm. only separating the shoulder from the knee".(1)

Menghin is not sure that the case has been made out for the tying-up of bodies for burial,(p.100), but surely there can be little doubt in this case, and soon after death too, since rigor mortis would soon make it

(1) From the French of Luquet, L'Art &c.p.196.(Eng. Trans.p.172).

impossible. The point has given rise to much discussion. Sometimes the bodies lie in the attitude of comfortable sleep, and occasionally so violently contorted that the only explanation seems to be binding or bandaging into position. To say that it was done to save effort and space in graves which had to be dug with very inadequate tools is an easy explanation, but not one which fits all the circumstances. Sometimes there is room enough, as when the body has been placed in a natural depression. The La Ferrassie male skeleton is a case in point. It is in the contracted position though there is no lack of space, and in the later (Aurignacian) burials at Barma Grande we have the three bodies placed in a grave dug for the purpose and stretched out at full length.(1) Plainly also it does not fit cases where caves seem to have been abandoned to the dead.

To call the attitude the 'sleep attitude' is to set forth another theory. Death has often enough been called a sleep, but this credits the Mousterians and other early peoples with saying it in the very attitude of their dead. There is nothing impossible in the suggestion, though it obviously cannot give us any light on the question whether they regarded the dead man as sunk in a longer sleep than usual, or whether they thought on death itself as a sleep. The one is as likely as the other, but sooner or later the one must have passed into the other.

(1) Luquet, (English Translation), p.170. The whole question of the flexed attitude is discussed by him in pp.169-179.

Still others see in the attitude, and especially in the more contracted form of it, the position of the foetus in the womb before birth. This would be very significant if it could be proved, for it could only mean that the dead were being returned to the womb of earth for a re-birth. Luquet thinks it unlikely that primitive man had knowledge of the foetal position-knowledge which even the west only acquired recently-(1)-but Conybeare and Budge both think there is something in it,(2) and the knowledge is at least possible if the Mousterians were sometimes cannibals, as some hold on the basis of the finds at Krapina, though Menghin finds the evidence insufficient.(3) Karsten tells of South American Indians who bury their dead in urns in the foetal position, and speak of the urn as 'the womb'.(4) It does not prove any thing, but at least it shows that such knowledge can be found in unlikely places.

But in some cases at least the presumption is strong that the dead have been bound into position after death. The custom is one that still persists among primitive peoples, and the reason given for it is that they wish to prevent the dead from coming back to torment the living.(5) The reason is a likely one, and if the true one, is our earliest witness to the fear of the dead. One thing however is certain; whichever of these views we

(1) Luquet, (Eng. Trans), p. 170. (2) Encyclopaedia Britannica, (11th. Ed.), xi, 331a. (Foot of Column)

(3) Weltgeschichte &c., p. 96. (4) Origins of Religion, p. 286

(5) Luquet, pp. 178f.; Sir J.G. Frazer, Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion, II, 66f. gives many examples.

take, the same thing follows. They all imply a belief in survival.(1)

With the La Chapelle skeleton were "some bits of very ferruginous sandstone, but not of ochre properly so called". The words are Luquet's; Sollas simply calls them ochre; and this way of speaking seems to indicate that both look upon it as the forerunner of that red ochre which later became so plentiful in Palaeolithic burials. It occurs often in Neolithic graves, and also in those of the Bronze Age. In South Russia it is present in such large quantities in burials which reach from the Neolithic into the Bronze Age that the graves are known as 'ochre graves'.(2) In them the whole corpse was covered with a thick layer of red ochre. This must have been the case with the famous 'red lady of Paviland', as we shall see, and red ochre was also much in evidence in the strange nests of skulls discovered at Ofnet. Of this custom we have the possible beginning in the ferruginous sandstone of the La Chapelle burial. Now what is the ochre there for? To say it was there to scare off demons hardly needs to be mentioned, it is so large an assumption. It seems more than a little far fetched to say with Macalister that red is the colour of radiant health,(3) or with Reinach that it is "the colour of life, as opposed to the pale hue of death".(4) That plainly would not apply to every colour

(1) T. Eric Peet discusses this attitude in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* I, 238ff. in relation to Predynastic Egyptian graves & gives all these views. He considers the 'embryonic posture' as most widely held. (2) V. Gordon Childe, *The Dawn of European Civilisation*, p. 138 note. (3) *Text Book of European Archaeology*, I, 502. (4) *Orpheus*, p. 118.

of skin, and we have no means of knowing what colour of skin the Palaeolithic people had. But it does witness to the belief of these two scholars that the red ochre was something in the nature of a magical attempt to ensure life to the dead. Others, of whom Prof. V. Gordon Childe is one, regard the ochre as a supply of pigment for personal adornment in the other life.(1) It is a likely enough explanation in some cases, as for example the one we are considering, but in most of the others the quantity would appear to be excessive for such a purpose. Certainly Hottentots, or their women at any rate, daubed themselves with red paint in honour of the red dawn", and also "when they worshipped at the grave of their ancestor, and even painted the stones of his grave red".(2) From them, Dudley Kidd thinks, the custom may have passed on to the Kafirs. "Red is a favourite colour among the Bayaka," says Hartland. "It is used for body painting of both living and dead. The corpse is painted before burial; the dandy paints himself to increase his beauty; the widow is painted in mourning".(3) The examples, taken almost at random from many, show that the custom persists, and suggest that more than personal adornment may be behind it. Red colouring matter is a familiar substitute for blood, as when it is smeared on a god or a stone as a substitute for the blood of sacrifice.(4) "The Blood is the life" is a

(1) The Danube in Prehistory, p.148.

(2) The Essential Kafir, p.412. (3) Ritual & Belief, p.242.

(4) Golden Bough, (3rd. Ed.) II, 175f. & note 1 on p.176, gives many examples. Cf. also Jevons, Intro. to Hist. of Rel. p.140.

belief which has come down to us from very early times, and is among the roots of the custom of sacrifice. Man must early have noticed that as this strange red fluid ran out at a wound a man weakened and died, and it was but a step further to locate the life itself in it. Australian aborigines wound themselves at a grave, and allow their blood to trickle down upon the corpse,(1) and it may be that primitive man did that too; but if so he went a step further and decided, as savages have done also in their turn, that any red colouring matter would do as well(2) So we have the impulse of love and reverence, which would supply in abundance a magic life-giving substance.(3) But perhaps- it is an explanation quite as possible- something like the vampire belief had begun to appear, and blood, or some substitute for it, was put in the grave to keep the dead man from coming to look for it. All the explanations, it is to be noticed, imply the continued existence of the dead, and the possibility of ensuring or enhancing that existence.

(1) Sir J.G.Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, I, pp.158f.

F.B.Jevons, *Intro.to Hist.of Religion*, p.191.

(2) Jevons, *Op.cit.*, pp.52f., 148.

(3) Here are some representative opinions on this:-
Prof.H.J.Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy*, p.23f,
(In Neolithic burials)"The characteristic red tinge of the oxide of iron is found in abundance; conceivably its resemblance to blood made it a welcome offering to the bloodless dead".
Warren R.Dawson, *Magician & Leech*, pp7f., "Violent death usually involves loss of blood, & hence it is probable that even as early as Aurignacian times, blood came to be regarded as the vital fluid which was essential to active existence. This belief will explain why blood plays such an important part in the rites of primitive peoples, and why red objects have ever been associated with blood & with death. Primitive man buried his dead in red ochre, probably with the object of supplying the vital stuff which was lacking....

So blood was used, in Perry's phrase, as the first 'giver of life', unless fire came before it, for there is evidence of a fire having been lighted on this grave. No doubt the Mousterians had seen men apparently dead in the great cold revived by the heat of a fire, and they may have tried to melt the cold of death and to supply vital warmth by lighting a fire on the grave or burying the dead man near to a hearth. Then, all done that they could think of doing, they abandoned the cave to the dead. The evidence seems to point that way in the La Chapelle case; and Luquet mentions other cases also, where the hearths seem to have been abandoned, and a thick sterile layer has been deposited between them and the next signs of occupation. The custom is interesting because it is still known, as for example among the Veddas of Ceylon.(1) They, and others,(2) abandon his hut, or the shelter in which they bury him, to the dead man. It is his property, and so is left to him.

Here then, in that remote age, we have 'tendance of the dead' at the very least. We cannot go so far as to say there was a cult of the dead, but we can say that there are well-developed beliefs about survival, and an evident determination to ensure it and provide for it. This, as Burkitt says, is truly amazing in so remote an epoch. Of the duration and quality of that other life we cannot speak, but that the Mousterians believed in one is plain to see.

(1) Luquet, (Eng. Trans.), pp. 170f.

(2) Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, I, 275; *Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion*, I, 17ff., II, 125.

3- Burials in the Miolithic Period.

Compared with the immensely long Protolithic Period the Miolithic must, relatively speaking, be called short, but it must have run into tens of thousands of years for all that. A recent estimate, most reluctantly given, says that the Aurignacian Culture, with which it began, may not be more than 20 to 40 thousand years old.(1)

During the period we find the rise of new races, the development of old tools and weapons, and the invention of new ones. Art appears- an art which, with few means at its disposal, rises, in some quarters at least, to great heights of technical excellence. The Mousterians vanish from the scene; perhaps absorbed or exterminated; or, it may be, moved on by invaders, as Sollas thinks. New customs arise, or are introduced, and new modes of life. But the burial customs of the earlier time persist. In the main no doubt this is so because the beliefs about the dead remain the same, or substantially the same. Developments there are, but few changes of great moment, though these are significant.

(1) J.S.Huxley & A.C.Hadden, *We Europeans*, p.59.

The Paviland skeleton has already been mentioned, and since it is Aurignacian, it consequently belongs to the earlier part of the Miolithic. The skeleton was headless, and was found in 1823 in Paviland Cave in Wales. There was so much oxide of iron present that in some places it was simply caked on the bones, which were stained red with it. Evidently the idea behind the practice had found favour and was being stressed. There was funerary furniture, stained red by the deposit of ochre, and beside the body a mammoth's head still complete with its tusks. "Near the thigh were two handfuls of small shells(*neritea littoralis*) soaked in red colour, and near the breast forty or fifty pieces of round ivory batons, one alone complete, and about 10 cm. long."(1)

The mammoth's head is interesting. Roscoe tells us that among the Basoga of Central Africa when an elephant was killed "the head was taken to the home of the chief hunter, who built a shrine to the ghost of his father, if he were dead, and offered the head to him, thanking him for his help and asking that he might have the good fortune to kill another. The heads of elephants and buffalo were the only parts of animals which were treated in this way".(2)

This is, of course, no more than suggestive, but it is worth remembering that a bison horn was found near the La Chapelle skeleton; a mammoth tusk was found above the Brunn skeleton; while one of the Laussel reliefs shows

(1) The account is mainly from Luquet, pp.161 & 163.

(2) Rev. John Roscoe, The Bagesu, p.117.

a very stout woman holding up a bison horn in her right hand. Evidently some value must have been placed on such natural weapons in Aurignacian times. Luquet's only comment is that they evidently played some part in the burial rites and in the beliefs of Palaeolithic peoples, "for a reason which escapes us".(1) Menghin finds in the woman with the bison horn the oldest expression of the Mother Goddess or Great Mother, who afterwards was so extensively worshipped in the Orient. In the Neolithic we meet her again, and she has now the ox connected with her. This, he thinks, can hardly be chance. Behind the horn in this case there must be a deeper significance, and that must come from its shape. It is like the moon; so, thinks Menghin, we can infer for the Miolithic 'eine lunare Mythologie'.(2) Beside that let us place this quotation from F. T. Elworthy's

"Horns of Honour, pp.10f.-"The moon having been looked upon, at least by the Aryan stock, as the mother of the gods and men, was naturally regarded as the great and beneficent protector of her progeny; consequently, as we should expect, so do we find, that the symbol of her personification is distinguished by the most remarkable of her visible forms, the crescent. This well-known symbol, being placed as a cognisance or crest upon her head, has in all ages denoted the universal, the Celestial Mother, or perhaps rather the type of motherhood, whether known of old as Ishtar, Isis, Artemis, Diana, or as at present Madonna.

The crescent upon it, when viewed from the front, gives to the head an appearance of having the horns of a short-horned cow, and from its being so placed on all moon gods and goddesses, the crescent has got the name of the horned moon".

(1) pp.165f. (2) Weltgeschichte &c.p.148.

For a reason easily apparent, the moon was connected
with growth and decay,⁽¹⁾ and by an easy step further,
there comes in the idea of life and death. The moon
was born and grew up and diminished and died and rose
again. So the moon became a symbol of immortality, and
of immortality by continual resurrection, and men by
some mystic sympathy were like the moon in this in the
far-off past, only something went wrong- and what the
something is is variously given- and man lost his power
of rising again from the dead in three days. Frazer gives
several versions of this widespread story⁽²⁾ Still another
story, also widespread, tells how the moon sent a message
of immortality to man. "As I die and rise again," ran the
message, "so shall you die and rise to life again". The
messenger, usually the hare or some other animal, either
through malice or forgetfulness reversed the message, and
so man lost his chance of immortality⁽³⁾. These stories
and fancies then, were the results of a primitive phil-
osophy founded on observation of the lunar phases, and
if Menghin is right, and there is no reason why he should
not be, though there is little evidence that he is, then
it was held early enough. So the horns and tusks in
the graves may be symbols of the moon, and of a hope,
connected with the moon, of a rising again from death to
life.

The stout woman also, who in the Laussel relief holds

(1) J.A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*,
pp. 176f.; Frazer's *Golden Bough*, vi, 131ff., 138f.

(2) *Belief in Immortality*, I, pp. 65ff., & esp. p. 67., also
Folklore in Old Testament, I, pp. 71f.

(3) *Ibid.* I, pp. 52-7. *E.R.E.*, xii, 63a (E.N. Fallaize).

up the horn, is worthy of some consideration. This figure is by no means unique. Statuettes and reliefs of naked female figures are found quite often in middle Aurignacian graves, and range from the south of France to Russia.(1) The sexual characters of the figures are usually strongly emphasised, but as a rule the faces are featureless. This seems to tell strongly against Luquet's theory that these have been made by the artist for his own sensual satisfaction, or for aesthetic reasons.(1) People of the capacity of these far-off artists were quite capable of recognisably representing faces, if they had wished to do so, and to do so was bound to heighten such satisfaction if it was really sought. We shall be nearer the truth if we think that a very old idea is possibly even as old as this. To make a recognisable portrait of a person was to put that person into the power of the maker, since it was believed that one could injure the original by injuring the portrait. The statuettes made by witches in all ages for their own purposes show how persistent this idea is.(2)

Menghin strongly repudiates Luquet's aesthetic theory, and maintains that these statuettes have a cult significance. The Aurignacians had a woman cult, and it was a cult of fertility such as later became so widespread with the discovery of agriculture. Fertility was a

(1) p.110 & p.113.

(2) The Essential Kafir, pp.144f.

matter of moment to hunters as well, and so there is the female figure associated with the bison horn. The ox, or rather the bull, with whom the Great Mother is later found associated, is a well known fertility symbol, and the moon, which the horn almost certainly stands for, in later days has its own connection with fertility. There seems little doubt then, that these figures and reliefs, and this one in particular, are signs of a fertility cult among the Aurignacians. But fertility and life of necessity go together, and so we come once more on pre-occupation with the mystery of death. The Mother Goddess is the giver of life, and the dead man in his grave is under her protection and in contact with the source of life. If not that, it is hard to think what they can be, except perhaps substitutes for wives, and we have no trace so early as this of burying wives with their dead husbands, though it is common enough later.(1)

But there is another point of view from which the mammoth head of Paviland and the other tusks and horns in the graves may be looked at. It is perhaps, best set forth in an oft-repeated statement of Karsten's:- "The idea that the soul, or vital power of an animal is particularly concentrated in such parts of the body as the skin, horns, claws, and teeth, is almost universal in primitive culture".(2) It is the same author who

(1) V.Gordon Childe, New Light on the Most Ancient East, p.68 & p.74.

(2) Origins of Religion, pp.39, 78, 91.

says that the vital power which animates the whole body is specially concentrated in certain parts, of which the head is one. This belief is behind the custom of head-hunting. "The heads are believed to possess a mysterious power which the victors can use for their own ends".(1) As they think them to ensure good weather, growth and fertility, good hunting, good fishing, good health, and large families, it is plain that they credit them with very large potency indeed. These wonderful effects "are due to the belief that the soul still exists in the head." Frazer tells us that in the Solomon Islands when a corpse has been buried for a time they dig up the bones to make arrowheads; "also they detach the skull and keep it in a chest in the house, saying that it is the man himself".(2) J.P.Mills tells us of the same circle of beliefs as existing among the Ao Nagas of Assam, who are or were head-hunters, and sums up in this way- "Head-hunting is really life-hunting, and implies the capture of the soul and its utilisation to increase the stock of life-essence already possessed by the village and so promote the welfare of the crops, of the live-stock, and of the human inhabitants".(3)

It is very tempting then to think of the Aurignacians who buried the Paviland skeleton as providing not only a liberal supply of ochre as a substitute for blood,

(1) Origins of Religion, 63.

(2) Belief in Immortality, I, 352.

(3) The Ao Nagas, p.225, note 2.

but also such a potent source of life-essence and of power as the head of the 'mountainous mammoth' complete with its magnificent tusks. It must have been meant to benefit the dead, and to ensure life to him by giving him a reservoir of life and power on which to draw. This is something like pure magic, certainly, but horns are often used in magic. They are used as protect-ives on houses, on graves, and, it may be, on the very altar itself. They enhance the power of medicines when they are drunk out of them, and models of them are common as amulets against the evil eye and the demons.(1)

The Hebrew use of the word 'horn' to symbolise power comes to the mind also, and the horns with which Michel Angelo provided his statue of Moses.(2) Into the same category come those ornaments of pierced teeth which are so frequent in Aurignacian and Magdalenian burials.(3) Of course these may be ornaments pure and simple, but it is more in line with primitive thought that they should be of the nature of amulets, and if that be so their purpose must be to protect the dead, and to ensure his continued life.

Of the shells in the Paviland burial the same thing can be said. They may be ornaments, especially if pierced, as they often are, as if they had been fastened to clothing, or in a necklace. But that does not explain

(1) See J.A. MacCulloch's article 'Horns' in E.R.E., vi, 791-6, & especially 794aff. "Magical aspects".

(2) Ibid. 793b. (Horned Men).

(3) Luquet, pp. 35, 39, 42-5, &c. Fijians were buried with a whale's tooth. Belief in Immortality, I, 421.

the extraordinary cache in the cave of Cavillon, in which the Man of Mentone was buried. Here there were 7,868 marine shells, 857 of which were pierced. Nor does it explain the find in the cave of Placard. There a woman's skull, complete with its jaw, of the lower Magdalenian epoch"was placed on a rock, surrounded with 170 pierced and unpierced shells of different species".(1) In some cases the shells have been brought great distances, which shows the value set upon them. Perry says there were, in the Mentone cave mentioned above, cowrie shells which must have come from the Indian Ocean.(2) If of the nature of money or 'jewels', these would simply be cases of burying their property with the dead, but Perry and Elliot Smith give a reason which seems more likely. These shells by their very shape suggest entrance upon life, and so in these remote ages"were supposed to have life-giving powers".(3) So here again we have evidence of preoccupation with the same subject- the mystery of death, and the endeavour to ensure continued life.

For the Solutrean and Magdalenian cultures we have not a great number of burials, but those we have bear witness to beliefs which seem much the same as those in Aurignacian times, and indeed the Magdalenian culture seems in many ways to be simply a continuation of the Aurignacian. Luquet considers double burial or pre-sepulchral removing

(1) Luquet, pp.165,168.cf.also pp.43ff.

(2) Growth of Civilisation, p.19.

(3) Ibid.p.19.cf.also Magician & Leech,(W.R.Dawson),pp.15f

"Shells, perhaps the earliest symbols of life...were worn by the living to facilitate birth, and were bestowed upon the dead to facilitate rebirth."

of the flesh as at least likely for this time.(1) His conclusive example is the skeleton from Hoteaux, where the bones have been re-arranged wrongly, for the femurs were found inverted. Menghin has no doubt on the point. He sees, in bones from a grave at Predmost in Moravia which show evident traces of scraping, not proof of cannibalism as was at first thought, but "the oldest proof for a death custom of the kind"(2) This makes it Pre-solutrean, and so would make the practice persist throughout the whole period. The motive of the practice, which is known for Neolithic times, and common in savage tribes of the present time,(3) can hardly have been to free the spirit, though it is held by some nowadays that the spirit is retained in or near the body till decomposition is complete. Such evidence as there is seems to show that retaining and preserving the bones, and especially the skull, is meant to keep the spirit of the dead man near at hand. The intention surely must have been to preserve the more permanent parts of the body as a basis for the continued life. Quite often in this case also the bones are dyed red.

Other interesting burials of the period are the famous 'Homme Écrasé', with his elaborate decorations of shells,(4) and the Chancelade skeleton, tightly bound up into a compact little bundle, for the extraordinary degree of

(1) Luquet, pp.167f.

(2) Weltgeschichte &c., p.205.

(3) Dr.C.E.Fox, Threshold of the Pacific, p.220; Frazer, Belief in Immortality, I, 178f., III, 47.

(4) Luquet, pp.45f.cf.also Threshold of the Pacific, p.253, for a somewhat similar arrangement of cowrie shells.

contortion implies that. The dead man seems to have been a dwarf, and has been compared by Sollas to an Eskimo. Certainly he must have evoked more than ordinary fear in his contemporaries when they took such elaborate precautions that he, at any rate, should not 'walk'. (1)

During the later part of the period we come on not infrequent head-burials, which is something quite new, Menghin tells us, since it is a custom strange to Aurignacian times.(2) "It comes into view for the first time in the Solutrean period, and is frequent in the Magdalenian", he tells us.(3) We may have an earlier case of this still from the Mousterian, in one of the La Ferrassie burials where the skull is placed at a distance from the body, but, though some think this a case of head-burial, others think the body has been disturbed by carnivores.(4) We have already seen a case of head-burial in the woman's skull surrounded by shells from the Placard cave, and in the same cave there were others, belonging to the Upper Solutrean and Lower Magdalenian which show plain traces of having had the flesh removed, and of having been fashioned into cups.(5) This is interesting, since it must be connected with the rise of new ideas about the dead, and ideas which only affected some parts of Europe, since the sphere of

(1) Description & picture in Luquet, pp.176f. Cf. also Men of the Dawn, pp.124f.

(2) Weltgeschichte &c. p.159. (3) Ibid. p.187.

(4) Luquet, p.169; Menghin, Ibid. p.100; Men of the Dawn, p.68.

(5) Luquet, p.168; Menghin, p.159.

the Capsian culture so far shows no sign of it.(1)
The importance of the skull, so prominent later in the cult of the dead, seems to have begun. "The spirits of the dead are...embodied apparently in their skulls", says Frazer; "To keep medicines in a skull increases their effectiveness", says Dudley Kidd; while MacCulloch puts it most plainly of all when he states: "Suspended in temples, they (skulls) became an actual and symbolical offering of the life of their owners...Hence, too, the custom of drinking from the skull of the slain had the intention of transferring his powers directly to the drinker". He notes also that "milk drunk from the skull of Connal Cernach restored to enfeebled warriors their pristine strength, and a folk-survival in the Highlands- that of drinking from the skull of a suicide (here taking the place of the slain enemy) in order to restore health- shows the same idea at work".(2) This no doubt will suffice to suggest the ideas about the dead which seem now to be coming into view.

The most striking example is provided by the nests of skulls discovered in the greater cave at Ofnet in Wurtemberg. There pits were dug down through the Magdalenian layer, and in these the skulls were placed in concentric circles, all facing west, and literally packed in red ochre. There were 27 in one pit, and 5

(1) Menghin, p.187.

(2) Belief in Immortality, I, p.338; The Essential Kafir, p.309; The Religion of the Ancient Celts, pp.241f.

in the other. There were long-headed and round-headed skulls with some of an intermediate form, and Scott Elliot even says that one had a Neanderthal ancestry.(1) It is a fact worth noting that the majority of Palaeolithic heads hitherto met with have been long-headed, so that the Ofnet find may be an indication of the incoming of a new race. Burkitt, in describing the discovery, ventures, in his 'Prehistory', no reason at all for this mode of burial. The skulls "were those of old women, young women, and young men; the old women have many collars of stag's teeth, and other articles of decoration, the young women have few ornaments, and the men none. Count Begouen has shown from a minute study of scratches and marks at the base of the skulls that these were decapitated. For what reason this decapitation took place, and why the skulls were thus decorated and placed in concentric circles facing west, is, of course, unknown".(2) That does not prevent conjecture, however, and so in a little book written a year or two later he asks: "Was it a definite cult of the dead due, perhaps, to fear- or maybe for reverence? Are we to see in it the dawn of emotions that can only be described as religious...?"(3) Other indications, and especially the statuettes in Aurignacian graves, have already made us sensible of the presence of a religion of some kind, and

(1) Prehistoric Man & his Story, p.236.

(2) Prehistory, pp.152ff.

(3) Our Forerunners, (Home University Library), p.157.
Cf. also H. Peake & H. J. Fleure, Hunters & Artists,
p.122 for somewhat similar views.

this is additional confirmation. Scott Elliot would explain it by head-hunting, and tells us that "the earliest Celts in Europe" collected the same ghastly kind of trophy. (1) Obermaier, as Peake and Fleure note, has with more probability likened them to "the groupings in the skull altars described by F. Sarasin in New Caledonia. There the skulls are held in high honour, and the people come to them to beseech the spirits of their forefathers for help. If the arrangement at Ofnet is really like that at New Caledonia, we have here indications of the veneration of the dead; the idea of an "All Souls'" Festival may be of immense antiquity". (2) We have taken note of the subject already in dealing with the mammoth head at Paviland, and modern examples of the practice which might be given are legion, so that in some places the skulls preserved by the family are, as Frazer tells us, "household gods". (3)

It is difficult not to see behind all this the rise, or the incoming, of the idea of soul. Karsten has already been quoted as to the mysterious power believed to reside in the head. We cannot say whether the heads so carefully preserved, so powerfully reinforced by amulets, and so copiously supplied with a surrogate for that magical fluid, blood, were the heads of enemies kept for fertility rites or for magic of some other kind, or were

(1) Prehistoric Man & his Story, p. 236.

(2) H. Peake & H. J. Fleure, Hunters & Artists, p. 122.

(3) Belief in Immortality, III, p. 48. Cf. also II, p. 212; I, p. 328; Primitive Culture, II, 150f.; A. Lang, Making of Religion, 160; C. E. Fox, Threshold of the Pacific, pp. 114, & 230. &c.

the places where the souls of the ancestors still had their dwelling-place, and where they could be cared for and venerated so that they might be induced to exert their powerful influence on behalf of their descendants. Certain it is that we seem to have got beyond simple 'tendance' of the dead, and are approaching something like worship of them. How the idea of soul or spirit arose at all can most conveniently be treated when we consider the ideas of existing primitive peoples about the soul, but it will be sufficient to note now that we have, in this strange burial custom, at least traces of it. For Elliot Smith and the diffusionists, of course, there is little difficulty in the matter. The Solutreans for them were Proto-Egyptians or akin to them and strongly affected by their ideas, and to them, and to diffusion from Egypt generally, are to be attributed not only the conceptions of the other life and of the soul, but all the elements of civilisation as well. This is repudiated, sometimes very strongly, by all outside of the school. Lowie, for example, says the historical evidence seems to him 'precisely nil', and he considers it a preposterous idea that the ancient Egyptians alone had 'unique innate mentality' enough 'to evolve the spirit-concept'. (1) Certainly when one considers the evidence in the previous chapter concerning Protolithic views about the dead, it

(1) Dr. R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, pp. 114f. See also Dr. E. S. Waterhouse, *Dawn of Religion*, pp. 35 & 118. For Elliot Smith's views see *The Ancient Egyptians, Evolution of Man*, pp. 92f, *The Diffusion of Culture*, pp. 208-239, *In the Beginning*, *passim*. Also W. J. Perry, *Growth of Civilisation*, especially chapter iii.

seems a very large assumption that these must have come from Egypt, and could not have been thought of independently.

The times which followed exhibit a degeneration in flint working, and very conspicuously in art, but whether that was due to actual degeneration of character, or simply to the fact that other and more perishable materials were used, and that these have vanished and left us without sign of their main achievements, it is not easy to say. Perhaps an Azilian burial may help to illustrate this age of transition. The strictly Azilian burials so far known are few, but there is, in 'Primitive Hearths in the Pyrenees', (272-6), a description of how two were discovered in the Tuto Biouleto- the Violet Hole- near Montardit on the Spanish border. A complete skeleton, and a skull with some fragments of another, were the remains discovered. I abbreviate the account.

"There were eighteen river galets, some, perhaps all, brought from the Volp to outline the grave. Three flat stones had covered the feet, two roughly rectangular; the third, flecked with mica, showed traces of charcoal and of red colour. Then came a group of objects which tenderness or tradition had placed with the dead: two granite hammerstones deeply scarred; the anvil on which their blows may have fallen, dented and also marked with red; and a large crudely shaped flint... There was one ornament- two deep scallops cut from the tusk of a wild

boar. Two other thin fragments of tusk denoted another possible ornament... Also an enigmatical collection of fragments foreign to the cave itself- morsels of glistening quartz, two symmetrical galets, a few curiously shaped pebbles, and a stalactite cut through the middle."

The other grave was similarly furnished, with the addition of "a piece of red sandstone with a cup-shaped depression marked on its upper surface...our first example of the pierre à cupule used in mixing colours or grinding points throughout the Old Stone Age... But particularly interesting were the stones showing traces of paint... Although there was no clear evidence of the patterned bands and dots that form the enigmatical symbols of the pebbles of the Mas d'Azil..."

So, from Azilian graves, the same ideas about the dead seem to be prevalent. There were grave goods, even if poor ones, and ornaments, and red ochre was still used. The Mas d'Azil pebbles, however, are a distinctly new element. The markings on these have been compared with marks painted in Capsian caves in Spain, and seem conventionalised 'representations of human figures reduced to their lowest terms'. Macalister hazards the conjecture that they may be of the nature of 'soul-houses', that is, "abodes for the spirits of deceased members of the community, and as such associated with a cult of the dead"⁽¹⁾. In that case we have something which

(1) Text Book of European Archaeology, I, p.531.



reminds us of the portrait statues of the Egyptians. These were placed in the grave as dwelling-places for the soul, in case the mummy should decay or be destroyed. The Egyptians, however, were not alone in the practice. Dr. C. E. Fox tells how the people of San Cristoval put stone statues into the grave for one of the two souls a man has to go into,(1) while Jevons cites many examples from tribes in the Americas.(2) "Where cremation prevails," he tells us, "the ashes were placed in hollow wooden statues, hollow clay images, or urns having on the outside a representation of the deceased", obviously for the purpose of animating them, for the spirit goes with the ashes, the remnants of the body.

The whole matter, of course, is highly conjectural, but it is at least in the line of development of ideas which must have been spreading at the time, and which later come into clearer light. If the idea of a soul separable from the body had come to men- and there are certainly signs of it, not only in archaeology, but very decidedly in folklore, as we shall see- there is nothing impossible or absurd in the idea. So we have left behind us the idea that the dead man was somehow living in the grave, in some sort of connection with the body or the remains of it, and have arrived at the idea of a soul which somehow still has its dwelling in the tomb and its interest in the body, but which can be detached from it and live in something else.

(1) Threshold of the Pacific, p.230.

(2) Introduction to the History of Religion, p.196.

4- The Neolithic and After.

We cannot look on the Neolithic Age as a clear and definite period throughout the world, appearing full-born some time after the close of the Palaeolithic period, and brought itself to a definite close by the discovery and use of metals. Some parts of the world, as for example some places in Oceania, are still in the Neolithic stage, and some places never had a Bronze Age, passing at a stride, by the diffusion of culture, from the Neolithic to the Iron Age. In this last phase of the history of man, which lasts into our own time, the so-called ages are really all dovetailed together. An example or two will perhaps serve to make the point plain.

It seems likely that the nomad hunters of late Palaeolithic times "left Western Europe as the forest spread, and followed their game back to the Russo-Turkestan Steppe... Reinforced by the arrival, in late Tardenoisian times, of descendants of the final Capsian invaders of Spain, or of other hunting folk who had learned to use their weapons, these hunted cattle in the park-lands, sheep on the mountains to the south, and horses on the grass-lands. Ultimately they domesticated the two former animals and finally the horse".

So arose a nomad pastoral culture which is obviously

Neolithic, and in the second phase of this culture, (c.2,600 B.C.), "traders, perhaps from the Cyclades", coming "into contact with some of these nomads at the mouths of the Kuban and the Don... had provided the Kuban people with weapons of metal and ornaments of copper and silver".(1)

So in this region we have an example of the Miolithic shading off into the Neolithic, and of the Neolithic shading off into the Copper Age. It is interesting to note that they kept, throughout all their changes of culture, the Palaeolithic custom of strewing their dead with such quantities of red ochre that their graves are known as ochre graves.

Such another dovetailing can be seen among the lake-dwellers of Central Europe. Their civilisation is Early Neolithic, "derived from Danubian sources", but there are other features. For example, "the earliest lake-dwellers on Lake Neuchatel had painted pebbles, very like those found at Mas d'Azil... Sometimes they wore as amulets fragments of human skull, obtained by trepanning... Other objects found in the lowest layer of these deposits,... can be closely paralleled from the Baltic settlements at Maglemose and Brabrand... It is therefore clear, that the culture of the Danubian peasants had been grafted on to that of the Epipalaeolithic descendants of the men of Ofnet".(2)

Kendrick too holds that in Britain, with which he is mainly dealing, the late Neolithic is rather a forerunner of the Metal Age than a part of the Stone Age. His argument appears to be that Palaeolithic times run into what we usually call the Neolithic, and that the Bronze

(1) H. Peake & H. J. Fleure, *The Steppe & the Sown*, pp. 32f.

(2) *Ibid.* pp. 71f.

Age, for Britain at any rate, really begins in it. That is, for him too the Neolithic is rather an age of transition than a definitely marked period.(1)

In Crete, on the other hand, the story of man begins with the Neolithic Age, since there is no evidence of a Palaeolithic Age in that island, and in both Crete and Egypt the Neolithic period brings us into times with which the progress of discovery has made us reasonably familiar.(2)

For Elliot Smith the Neolithic is rather, as he would say, a culture-complex than an age. It is usually taken to mean "a definite period in history when men first began to shape their stone weapons by polishing them, without however giving up the practice of chipping; to domesticate animals; to cultivate cereals and fruit trees; to erect megalithic monuments; to make pottery; to weave linen; and to give definite evidence of religious beliefs and a funerary cult".(3)

As a matter of fact it is only in Western Europe, he points out, that the whole complex called Neolithic culture can be found roughly in one place for one period, and so this argument once again gives us the impression rather of a time of transition than of what we can call a definite age. Certainly it is plain that it cannot be thought of as a definite and simultaneous period.

Fortunately it will not be necessary for us to bind ourselves to any new system or division of periods, so long as we keep in mind the fluid and indeterminate

(1) T.D.Kendrick, The Axe Age, Chap.I-The Word Neolithic.

(2) G.Glotz, The Aegean Civilisation, p.31.

(3) Evolution of Man, p.94, (quoted from Dechelette).

character of the time, and the practical impossibility of dividing it off from the period which precedes, and certainly from the Ages of Metal which follow. We must think of no hard and fast system of Ages, but of a time when, round the Mediterranean seaboard, new ideas and new discoveries were causing a ferment which ultimately spread out to the world at large. The writers of 'We Europeans', in the Time Scale they give so reluctantly, date the invention of cereal agriculture as sometime between 4,000 and 5,000 B. C., probably emanating from Egypt or Western Asia, where human history, as distinct from prehistory, begins about 3,400 B. C.' They date the earliest metal objects found in Britain- objects associated with the coming of the Beaker folk- from about 2,000 B. C. "This therefore gives us approximately the period at which the Neolithic phase of culture ended in Western Europe".(1) This is convenient, for it enables us to say in general terms that that the period we are considering runs roughly from about 5,000 to about 2,000 B. C. In the later part of the period we are well into historical times so far as Egypt and the Ancient East are concerned; when beliefs about the dead can be fairly accurately determined, but in this section we are not concerned with these, except to note Elliot Smith's statement that Early Neolithic and Proto-Egyptian burial

(1) J.S.Huxley & A.C.Haddon, *We Europeans*, p.59. Cf. also *Man Makes Himself*, Chap.V-The Neolithic Revolution. He seems to favour W.Asia as the probable locus of invention of cereal agriculture: cf. pp.77 & 84f.

customs are essentially identical, and Childe's statement that the Aryan Culture was not of the Palaeolithic phase, but was Chalcolithic or Neolithic.(1) Both opinions may help us in deciding what the beliefs of the time really were.

For Neolithic times and later the evidence for the belief in survival becomes overwhelming. In many respects indeed our own times are simply a continuation of these. Conditions of climate, land contour, and so on, were practically the same, and man, in Europe and in Mediterranean lands generally was giving up his roving existence as a hunter, and settling down to a pastoral and then to an agricultural life. But whatever way of life he abandoned, his attitude to death remained the same. He still did not believe that death was final, and in burial customs ever more elaborate he expressed that belief. Luquet tells us that it used to be common to attribute cases of undoubted funerary practices which seemed Palaeolithic, (as for example the first discoveries at Grimaldi), to the Neolithic, so well established are such practices for the period.⁽²⁾ The time is past, however, when Palaeolithic burial rites can be doubted, as we have seen, and so now we can say with Prof. H. J. Rose, that Neolithic man treated his dead in much the same way as Palaeolithic man.(3) The 'crouching attitude' is continued, and grave goods, and a supply of food, and red ochre in abundance, and a rude tomb of

(1) Elliot Smith, *Ancient Egyptians*, p.20; Childe, *The Aryans*, p.97. (2) Luquet, p.151. (3) *Primitive Culture in Italy*, pp.22-5; Childe says practically the same in *Man Makes Himself*, p.115.

stone slabs, while some bodies have been defleshed before burial, 'a rite technically known as scarnitura'. Some bodies have been subjected to 'a scorching or roasting process, whatever it may have meant'. This may have arisen by putting the body on a hearth where the fire was not yet extinguished, and then abandoning it to the dead, as Luquet thinks, or perhaps I may hazard the guess that it was an attempt to apply fire as a 'giver of life'. Rose speaks of orientation as a rite added by the Neolithic, but we have seen reason to find this in the Palaeolithic as well. He finds, in the way it is carried out, a likelihood that 'the dead were supposed to be going a journey in some definite direction'. Since in many cases the goods put with the dead look as if they had been broken with deliberate intention, it seems as if that had been done to liberate their spirits that they might follow their owners. It looks as if 'animism' were well advanced.

We can say this then, that the dead, always important, had become very important indeed, and something like a cult of the dead was flourishing. It is probable too that many common beliefs about the dead which are still held, or were held till recently, have come down to us from Neolithic times. People, for example, still associate the dead with their graves- a survival of one of the oldest of all beliefs. Many people still make it a part of Sunday routine to pay a visit to the graves of their relatives, and a lady not long ago told me she

did this because she felt nearer to her mother there.

Another lady whom I know well, lost very sadly and suddenly an only daughter, and thereafter made a practice of visiting the cemetery every day, and, as she put it, having a talk with her daughter. Popular belief would suggest too, that the most likely place to see a ghost is a churchyard. This is a belief whose roots go back even beyond Neolithic times, as we have seen.

Caves were still inhabited during this period, but one of the innovations of the time was the building of houses both for the living and the dead. The houses for the living were ordinary enough, except for the remarkable lake-dwellings of Central Europe and elsewhere, but the houses for the dead were wonderful indeed. About the inhabited houses it is worth noting that quite frequently young children were buried beneath the floors.(1) These may have been foundation sacrifices, or the desire of a protecting love to have them near may have put them there, but it is more likely that they were so buried in order that the spirit, hovering near the body, might have a chance of rebirth through some of the women of the family, and so we come on our first sign of one of the ways in which the after life is conceived- the way of reincarnation.

The remarkable megalithic structures which are so widespread in the later part of the period, are striking

(1) Cambridge Ancient History, I, p.85, for culture of Anau & Susa; V.Gordon Childe, Danube in Prehistory, p.44, for Danubian I culture, &c.

proof of the veneration in which some at least of the dead were held. Simple huts might house the living, but the dwellings of the dead were imposing enough. No 'phantoms of men outworn' were honoured and housed in this way. All kinds of these rough stone structures- except perhaps alignments, which may have had a religious, or at least a ceremonial purpose- seem memorials, or houses for the dead, or it may be temples for their cult. Some dolmens are recent- there are Japanese ones which are usually 'the tombs of emperors of known date' (1), and Russian ones which are comparatively late- but most of the erections belong to the Neolithic and Early Bronze Ages. Elliot Smith considers these an attempt, with rude tools and rough stones, to imitate the Egyptian funerary architecture. If that is so, there must have been a spreading of Egyptian views about the dead as well. These were spread, according to the theory, by small parties of prospectors- the Children of the Sun, Perry calls them- (2) who were looking for gold and other 'givers of life', as well as other metals necessary for civilisation, and who introduced the elements of their culture, and their eschatology too, in the process. If so, it must have found congenial soil.

The megalithic monuments generally imply, as Peet says, "strongly organised governments, backed by a powerful religion which required the building of temples for the gods and vast tombs for the dead". (3)

(1) R.A.S. Macalister, art. Stone Monuments (rude) in E.R.E. xi, 877-881.

(2) See his book with that name.

(3) T. Eric Peet, Rough Stone Monuments, p.7.

These, as Macalister would say, are not exclusive but supplementary. "For a memorial of a deceased chieftain is a shrine in honour of his ghost, and thus ipso facto acquires a religious significance".(1)

A brief review of the main types may not be out of place in showing their connection with the dead. We can begin with chambered barrows, since of their purpose there can be no doubt. In them all burials are inhumations, with the body in the flexed position, either sitting or lying. In these, bodies were not buried singly; they are communal tombs. Sometimes there were as many bodies even as twelve or thirteen, and with them pottery, vases, flint and bone implements, and so on. These barrows are long barrows. Round barrows, for Britain at any rate, are usually taken to be later in date. The 'kurgans' of South Russia are in their oldest type examples of this kind of burial mound, and it can be traced north to Scandinavia and Britain. Wheeler calls it a 'coherent culture', marked by 'mound-burial, double-handled or collared vessels, and battle-axes'.(2) By the time this culture influence reached Britain, it seems to have been influenced by the culture of the Beaker folk, and it brought to an end the long barrow age there. Not that there were no circular barrows before their coming, but till then the burial places were of the communal type, designed for multiple burials, and the common form was 'oval or egg-shaped or

(1) E.R.E., xi, p. 878b.

(2) R.E.M. Wheeler, in European Civilisation, p. 191.

oblong on plan.' Bowl or round barrows of this later type, like the earlier Russian 'kurgans', were designed to cover single burials, and do not belong to the class of megalithic monuments.

Both, however, were designed as homes for the dead, and are provided in a more magnificent style than the homes of the living can have been. The authors of the megalithic culture, as Prof. Childe remarks, were pre-occupied with the dead. "The cult of the dead overshadowed all other activities".(1)

Of the purpose of dolmens also there can be little doubt. "A dolmen consists of three, four, or five, stone supports covered by one selected megalith called a cap-stone or table".(2) Some dolmens seem to be barrows denuded of their covering soil, but it is not certain that all dolmens are so. Out of this simple form grew others more elaborate, like the passage grave. The purpose of a dolmen is always sepulchral, and it is a communal place of burial. This communal burial, Mr. Wheeler thinks, is the explanation of the whole megalithic problem, and it does indeed cover the facts without postulating a megalithic race, for which the evidence is not very conclusive, or the diffusion of Egyptian culture by a race of 'prospectors', or 'Children of the Sun', exploiting the metals in each region, and spreading

(1) Quoted in European Civilisation, II, p.181.

(2) Robert Munro, in Encyclopaedia Britannica, xxv, p.964b. (Stone Monuments, Primitive)

abroad their architecture and their cult of the dead. This theory, he shows, breaks down in details, and in different regions has to be bolstered up in various ways. His own theory has the great merit of linking up megalithic burial practices with those which went before. He reminds us of Palaeolithic cave burials, of which we have found examples from Mousterian times on. Aurignacians, Solutreans, Magdalenians, Azilians, and so on, they all buried their dead in caves, though not perhaps exclusively. In many cases these became something like burial vaults, and there followed as a natural sequence artificial grottoes cut for the purpose. These are known "in Portugal, in the Balearic Islands, in Provence, in the Marne valley, and elsewhere... at about the period with which we are dealing". The dolmen then simply becomes another attempt to do the same thing. It is a cave, more or less elaborate, built on the ground, and so "the hypothetical inventor of the dolmen-tomb was no revolutionary. He was merely facilitating the expression of a long and widely accepted concept. He invented the mass-production of caves".(1)

This shows us what we knew already in other ways, namely, that Palaeolithic views of the dead lasted on, and even grew in strength. Ideas which in Egypt led to the invention of architecture, and to the amazing structures which in that ancient land express the people's reverence for the

(1) The argument is summarised from European Civilisation, II, 178-186. (The 'Megalithic Culture'.) Kendrick expresses somewhat the same view: "The dolmen idea consists simply in the protection of the dead by building over them a box-like structure of big stones... It was not essential then to demand the advent of a migrating race to teach ruder savages... Axe Age, 77.

dead and pre-occupation with the after-life, led in other places so widely scattered throughout the world to the rude stone monuments, which also have aroused the wonder and the conjectures of men. Not from any time that we can get back to in Egypt, but from times remoter still, have come those ideas about the dead which have expressed themselves in many wonderful ways, and which not even yet have passed away from the earth.

Menhirs, standing stones, rude monoliths set on end, are very common in all megalithic areas. From these alignments and stone circles are derived, for alignments are standing stones set in straight lines, circles standing stones set in rings. These, too, all have a probable connection with burials. Standing stones were frequently gravestones, as interments at the foot of them show. Jacob set up a pillar or standing stone on Rachel's grave, and it evidently became a familiar landmark, for "that is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day". (Gn. XXXV, 20) An alignment of two stones generally marks the head and foot of a grave, and this too is not unparalleled in the Old Stone Age. Luquet gives several examples of rudimentary tombs, one that of the old negroid woman at Grimaldi, whose head

"was found between two blocks with a third resting horizontally on them like the table stone of a dolmen... There must have existed also a headstone, but it was not seen in place by Canon de Villeneuve". (1)

More interesting still, "each of the three Aurignacian

(1) Luquet, pp. 155f.

"skeletons- a man and two women- discovered at Solutré had on both sides of the head two limestone blocks averaging 50 cm.in height and placed vertically, taken from the rock of Solutré. They did not descend to the level of the head, and are considered by the finders as simply location marks for the sepultures. Of the two skeletons found in 1924, that of the woman did not have any slab. That of the man was accompanied by three uprights, one on each side of the head, and a third, perpendicular to the others, behind his skull. The five skeletons were in careful alignment east to west with the feet to the east, and each separated from the other by an interval approximately equal to the length of a human body".(1)

The accompanying picture shows what must have looked like a rudimentary alignment if the earth were removed. It suggests, for we can go no further than that, the larger menhirs and alignments of later days. That standing stones were sometimes worshipped is no objection to their monumental use, but rather an additional proof of it, for if the soul of the dead could be conceived of as passing into the stone- and there is a good deal to go on by way of proof of that contention- then the honours offered to the dead would be bestowed upon the stone, with results which can be imagined. (2)

Stone circles are sometimes the outworks of a barrow, or mark off an enclosure round a dolmen. When this is the case it marks off the enclosure sacred to the dead. Barton tells us that the half nomadic tribes east of the Jordan still practise burial in the earth within the gilgals or stone circles there, and gives as one possible

(1) Luquet, pp.156f.

(2) R.A.S.Macalister, in E.R.E.,xi,878b.

reason that it was a continuation of the practice of the Neolithic people who built them.(1) Most of the smaller stone circles have been used for interments, as excavations actually show, but the larger circles must have been more than this.(2) It is likely that they had developed into temples, which served also, as one of their religious purposes, for the burial of the dead. Stonehenge, the latest and most famous of all, is said, in the government handbook on the subject, to be "a religious structure, probably used for the observation of the sun, possibly connected with 'nature worship' and the cult of the dead".(3)

These, as Frazer shows, are the two forms of natural religion.(4) Stevens, who writes the government handbook, thinks that the Neolithic long barrows, which are earlier, and of which there are some in the district, are in themselves sufficient evidence that man had arrived at the idea of a 'spirit', and from this came the worship of ancestral spirits and so on. This much is certain, that all the plain near Stonehenge is one vast cemetery. In the immediate neighbourhood are two long barrows which are almost certainly earlier, and some three hundred round barrows, which seem to have been constructed not very long after Stonehenge was built. It is still a moot point whether the men of the long barrows or those of the round barrows built it, but the clustering

(1) G.A.Barton, Archaeology of the Bible, pp.229f.(6th.Ed.)

(2) Munro, Encyc.Brit.,xxv, 964b.

(3) Frank Stevens, Stonehenge,pp.62f.

(4) Worship of Nature, I,pp.16f.

round barrows leave no doubt in our minds as to which people took most advantage of the sacredness of the place. It seems to have been built when the Neolithic culture was giving place to that of the Bronze Age, for in the barrows bronze objects outnumber those of stone, though these are still plentiful. The grave goods comprise weapons of bronze and weapons of stone, personal ornaments of amber or gold or bronze, and pottery, mainly food vessels and drinking cups of a special kind which seems to have been used mainly for funeral rites. In addition there were funerary urns ranging from two inches to two feet in height containing the calcined remains of the departed, for the large majority, roughly three out of four, have been cremated. Where inhumation is the method the corpse is laid in the crouching attitude in a grave varying in depth from six inches to six feet. "The knees are drawn up to the trunk and the legs bent on the thighs, while the arms are closed towards the chest, and the hands over the face".(1)

It is the familiar attitude of Palaeolithic times. The skeleton usually lies with the head to the north; exceptions lie east, south-east or south-west, but rarely west, and never due south. It seems then, as has been said, that to these people the cult of the dead was a very important part of their activities, and their beliefs about the dead seem to lie in the line of development of Palaeolithic ideas.

(1) F. Steven, Stonehenge, pp. 81f. The description is founded on Encyc. Brit. xxv, art. Stonehenge, T. Eric Peet, Rough Stone Monuments, Frazer, Belief in Immortality, I, 438, and official handbook as above.

The reference to cremation introduces a new element into the situation, but before discussing the rise of this new practice, it may be well to take note of the so-called 'porthole' or 'seelenloch'; it may perhaps prove to have some connection with the subject. Peet speaks of it in this way: "A remarkable feature of the megalithic tombs is the occurrence in many of them of a small round or rectangular hole in one of the walls, usually an end-wall, more rarely a partition wall between two chambers. Occasionally the hole was formed by placing side by side two upright blocks each with a semicircular notch in its edge".(1)

Examples occur in England, Ireland, France, Belgium, Central Germany, and Scandinavia, "where they are common", in "the giants' graves of Sardinia", in Syria, the Caucasus, and India, "where half the dolmens in the Deccan are of this type". They are to be found also, I may add, in the Solomon Islands, and an illustration in Dr. Fox's Threshold of the Pacific shows the dolmen for skulls on the top of a San Cristoval grave-mound as having a stone at the side or end with two such holes in it. Sometimes the holes might be entrances, but generally this can hardly be the case. In the Caucasus and the Malabar coast the size of this hole leads to the dolmens being called popularly 'dwarf-houses'. "It has been suggested," says Peet, "that they served as an outlet for the soul of the deceased, or in some cases as a means of passing in food to him"(2) The second suggestion reminds us that quite

(1) Rough Stone Monuments, p.127.

(2) Ibid. p.127.

often the dead are so fed- for example in Nigeria and West Africa generally- but the former is the reason which seems to have found most favour. Jevons, quoting Count Goblet d'Alviella, finds it the most probable reason, and connects it with the Iroquois practice of leaving a small hole in the grave for the use of the soul passing in and out.(1) Kendrick has devoted a whole chapter to an examination of the subject,(2) and he suggests different reasons for different districts. "In some districts the builders of the tomb may have cut the porthole either as a real entrance or to represent one, while in others their aim was merely to provide what the Germans call a 'seelenloch', a thoroughfare for souls, or alternatively, as an aperture for throwing in food or small offerings to the dead."(3)

Childe notes the practice in the cremation cemeteries called urnfields, which are known from the Euphrates to the Irish Channel in the late Bronze Age. "In several parts of Central Europe it was the practice to bore a hole through the walls or base of the cinerary urn. German archaeologists term such an aperture the ghost-hole (seelenloch), believing that it was designed to allow the soul of the departed to escape from the jar which contained his mortal remains".(4)

This is a repetition of a similar statement in the Danube in Prehistory, (p.44) where the German word is translated as 'a soul-hole'. The practice calls up the somewhat similar one of trepanning, and it is interesting that the custom is well-known for this very time, and that trepanned skulls are often found in these very graves. Was it a cure

(1) Introduction to the History of Religion, p.50.

(2) The Axe Age, pp.39-63. (3) Ibid.p.41.

(4) The Bronze Age, p.194.

for certain ailments to let out the spirit which caused them?(1) That too seems not improbable, and of course one remembers that in folklore the soul can go out from the body in sleep, and can be prevented from returning by the removal of the sleeping body, or even more simply by turning the body on its face so that the soul cannot enter by mouth or nose. In regard to the 'porthole' then, once more we are in contact with 'the oldest of all beliefs', that the dead are alive in their tombs, but now there is a soul which can come out from the tomb or return to it. The universal belief regarding the dual nature of man is plainly here in full vigour. Here are body and soul, the man and his double, but the soul is no immaterial essence; it is material enough, for it needs an aperture to go and to return by, if it is to return at all.

The impression which the mind gathers about this whole period is, that the dead must have become a great burden on the living. What demands the cult of the dead made on the Egyptians is manifest, and the whole megalithic architecture is a witness for the same thing also for the widespread regions for which it is known. The dead were very important people, and demanded a good deal of attention. Fear of the dead seems to have grown. In Palaeolithic times the cave was sometimes abandoned to the dead, but quite often living and dead shared the cave together, or later the dwelling place, for this is true sometimes even

(1) H.J.Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy*, p.25. Childe quite often alludes to trepanning in the Danube in *Prehistory*, e.g. on pp.44, 150, 223 &c.

See also E.Bevan, *Sibyls & Seers*, 56.(quoting Plutarch)

for Neolithic times.(1) Later, in the Bronze Age, the dead, cremated now instead of inhumed, were carried out from the towns of the living and put into towns of the dead.(2) There seems to be little disposition to dwell together now. Some late Neolithic burials are suggestive, like those discovered by Dr. Hillebrandt where the feet had been amputated, or the Bronze Age burial where the corpse was fettered, the dead man being fitted with anklets 'connected together by a fine chain'.(3) These look very like attempts to prevent the dead from walking, and exhibit no great desire for their company.(4) During the period cremation seems to have begun and spread. There is no sign of it in Palaeolithic times, as Luquet informs us,(p.167) but it began in Neolithic times and is the practice for Central Europe by the Middle Bronze Age, that is, from about 1450 B. C.(5) Prof. Childe thinks that the rite came from Asia, and points out that the earliest cases in the Aegean are in centres most under Asiatic influence. This would not necessarily involve the presence of a new race, like the Aryans, or a break in culture; the spread of new ideas about the dead, or new customs in burial, would suffice.(6) In Bavaria there are even signs of transitional observances during the Bronze Age, and these are curious, as for example, a grave in which part of the

(1) Rose, Op.cit.,p.25. (2) Ibid. p.26.

(3) Childe, Danube in Prehistory, p.89, & p.306.

(4) Frazer's Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion gives many similar examples for savage peoples.

(5) V.Gordon Childe, The Aryans, p.53.

(6) Ibid. pp.144-6.

body is interred unburnt, while another part has been cremated, and the ashes placed in an urn.(1) Baring Gould gives an interesting example of the same kind from France. A dolmen near Brives was found, on excavation, to contain half a skeleton. "The upper half had been incinerated and was enclosed in a pot; but from the waist downward there had been carnal interment; above the feet were bronze anklets that had stained the bones green".(2)

Gould suggests a domestic quarrel over the burial between those who wished to follow the new fashion of cremation, and those who preferred the ancestral usage. The matter, as the result showed, had ended in compromise.(3) Facts like these suggest a difference of opinion on the matter, for though cremation became a widespread practice, it never completely ousted inhumation in any district, and even yet, in areas where the population is pretty homogeneous, as among the Australian aborigines, and in San Cristoval in the Solomon Islands, both methods flourish side by side.(4)

Miss Bendann has summarised for us what she calls some of the motives actuating the practice of cremation.(5) They are of considerable interest-

- 1- Cremation is the most effective way of preventing the possible return of the dead.
- 2- It dispels the pollution caused by death.

(1) V.Gordon Childe, The Aryans, p.147.

(2) S.Baring Gould, A Book of Folklore, p.122.

(3) Ibid. p.123. (4) The Aryans, p.148; C.E.Fox, The Threshold of the Pacific, pp.217, 229.

(5) Death Customs, p.50.

- 3- It protects the body from wild beasts.
- 4- Burning removes the deceased from the machinations of the evil spirits.
- 5- It is a means of securing warmth and comfort in the other world.
- 6- Burning eliminates the process of transformation, a process detrimental to the living and the dead.

Some reasons may be added from other sources. Earth burial is sometimes a matter of extreme difficulty, as for example among the terramaracoli,(1) or in Siberia, where the ground is so long frozen.(2) It is resorted to in time of war to protect the dead, as in the case of Saul and Jonathan; (ISam. xxxi, 12) or in time of plague, as in Amos vi, 9f, which is almost certainly a scene from the plague. This last, however, may be only a case which should come under numbers 1 or 2 above. From Jevens comes as a reason the desire of the friends for the return of the dead. As long as the body is there the soul, according to primitive belief, will stay with it, but when the body is destroyed the soul is freed, and so can return presumably at festivals of the dead, and perhaps in dreams.(3) This may come under number 6 above, and in any case while it shows the same act as in number 1, namely, the destruction of the body, it is for the opposite reason. This lets us see what a large amount of complexity and contradiction there is

(1) Dr.J.L.Myres in European Civilisation, I, 174.

(2) Burning of dead is frequently mentioned in Chap.vi of Aboriginal Siberia, by M.A.Czaplicka.E.g.on pp.147,150,&c.

(3) Introduction to the History of Religion, p.50.

on the subject: Cremation as a sign of rank may be mentioned, but not dwelt upon, as it is obviously an attempt to keep for one class in the community what is felt to be the benefit of a special rite.

Nilsson makes number 1 above more definite for us when he says that the rise of cremation was due to "the desire of the survivors to be rid of the dead, their troublesome claims on the living, and the danger of their malevolence". "By this total destruction of the body they believed they would be free from ghosts".(1)

This is the view also, according to a note in the work cited(2), of Rohde, of Wundt, and of K. Helm. Lévy-Bruhl too sets it forth, with many examples from savage peoples, of which one, quoted from Roscoe, may serve as an illustration:- In Uganda "underlying the custom of burning people there appears to be the idea of annihilation, for the ghost is supposed to be destroyed with the body, and all fear of further trouble from it ceases."(3)

Still another from Smith and Dale tells of an old woman who threatened to come back and trouble the village for neglecting her. A 'doctor' from a neighbouring village, called in on her death to deal with the situation, built a huge fire, cut the body up and threw it bit by bit on the flames, and scattered the ashes to the winds.(4)

Baring Gould gives the same explanation, which he supports by citing the vampire belief and the means taken to get rid of the vampire, as well as some other folk beliefs

(1) Primitive Religion, p.10, quoted in Karsten's Origins of Religion, p.283.

(2) Karsten, Op.cit., p.313, note 16. (3) L. Lévy-Bruhl, The 'Soul' of the Primitive, pp.261-9. The quotation is from p.266. (4) Quoted from the Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia in Ibid.264.

about the life of the dead in their graves. He sums up-

"With the burning of the dead the old belief in the bodies of the dead walking, requiring food, sucking blood, claiming brides, suffered eclipse, only to return full again with Christianity, when bodies were once more interred. With incineration, the ghost took the place of the restless body. The change from burying the body to burning it was due to a revolt of the living against the tyranny and exactions of the dead".(1)

This view Karsten does not accept.(2) He finds cremation

"no act of enmity, but on the contrary, a specially kind deed and act of friendship. As a matter of fact, this custom is only a radical step towards... the protection of the departed from the attacks of supernatural enemies, and the preservation of some part of his body. Fire is, in fact, an effective means of purification".

The ashes remain and are the seed of a new human existence in due time. So "the burning of the dead is an act of piety towards the dead, and is intimately connected with the cult of the soul proper."

He founds this conclusion on several examples mainly from South America, and quotes the Indian prayer to Agni- the Lord of Fire- that he would not harm the dead. Lehmann's explanation that these are simply survivals from the old custom of earth-burial he brushes aside with the remark that we have no right to credit the Indians or any other people with any such incomprehensible inconsistency. But this is to forget what inconsistencies primitive people can swallow without apparent difficulty, and people far from primitive too. It forgets too that fear of the dead which is at least as common in primitive communities as

(1) S.Baring Gould, A Book of Folklore, pp.126ff.,and especially p.144 from which the quotation comes.

(2) Origins of Religion, p.284. The quotations are from p.285, and the argument is summarised, practically in his own words, from these two pages.

is regard for them, though Karsten turns this aside by making it really fear of the death demon. Also if the ashes of the dead are carefully and lovingly preserved as a sort of focus for their new or continued existence, the belief is known too- Karsten himself states it here- that to scatter the ashes to the winds, as was done in some lands with the remains of criminals, by savage folks with those of the dreaded sorcerer, and by the Catholic Church with those of a heretic, is to try at any rate to "annihilate the dead, body and soul". To this I would add that those pagans who, in the days of the early persecutions, burned the bodies of martyrs to render their resurrection impossible, clearly held this belief as well.(1) Then Karsten, in giving his own reason for the practice, really gives four, or a combination of four, which can hardly be the original conception, but looks like the result of reflection on a custom already settled. Many reasons are given for the practice as we have seen- and still others might be given- as to act as a punishment, and to frighten the ghost(2)- but the matter, as it seems to me, resolves itself into this. Which of these reasons, if any, was likely to be responsible for the practice first of all, and commended it to the people who adopted it and propagated it? It is difficult to say, for all the examples given are, relatively speaking, late, with the

(1) M.Summers, The Vampire in Europe, p.251.

(2) J.G.Frazer, Belief in Immortality, p.459.

exception, perhaps, of the one from India. But there is evidence, and early evidence, that people did weary of the exactions of the dead. Substitutes appeared among the grave goods, and a selection as it seems from the property of the dead. Even in Egypt there are signs of such weariness, for quite early there arose the expedient of teaching the dead something like self-help. Instead of keeping up supplies of provisions for the dead, perpetual supplies were provided by imitating provisions in durable materials, or by painting them on the walls of the tomb, and the appropriate magical formulae recorded to turn the pictured repasts into real ones. The gods were prayed- nay, almost compelled- to grant provision, and the very wishes of the passers-by were asked for as efficacious. An inscription of the sixth dynasty entreats- "O You, men and women who live upon the earth and pass by this grave as you go up or down the river, and who say 'A thousand cakes and a thousand jugs of beer for the master of this tomb!', I will offer them for you in the other world".(1)

The paper articles and paper money of the Chinese are well-known, and are witness to the same tendency, which might be illustrated from every quarter of the globe. It was a natural and ingenious way of lightening the burden of the dead upon the living, and it is as old as, or older than, cremation. Then, as a matter of psychology it seems more likely to imagine primitive people beginning with

(1) C.F.Jean in European Civilisation, I, p.293.

fire as a destructive agent, then convinced of its failure as it seemed to them because the dead still returned in dreams and otherwise, turning to the explanation that it did not destroy the spirit but banished it to a far realm of the dead, rather than the reverse process. Then cremation becomes a step in the evolution of the idea of spirit, for now spirit must be something different from the body or it would perish ~~with~~ the body. This is conjecture, of course, but it is conjecture which might help to explain for example, the pithless dead of Homer, for in Homer the dead are cremated, and the funeral pyre, says the pathetic shade of Patroclus, sends them to the realm of the dead, from which they do not return. For Homer a bodiless existence is a very poor affair indeed. However the Orphics and Plato might look upon it later, a 'psyche' freed from the body was no desirable object to him.

But with the Egyptians and Homer we come out into the light of history, and the long prehistoric period is left far behind. It only remains to sum up the results of our survey. We cannot say that we have come on a belief in immortality, but equally we cannot say that we have not. The furthest we can go is to say that, as soon as we get anything definite about the people of that remote time, we come on a belief in survival, and one fairly well developed, which we may take for granted did not appear full-born. The after-life pre-supposed by it is in most respects like this one. Food is placed

by the dead and the familiar tools and weapons laid to his hand. The very attitude of the dead may imply a hope or a fear, but certainly a belief in survival. Means are taken to make sure of that life, such as supplying, or attempting to supply, deficiencies like vital warmth and blood, and to augment the mysterious life-essence by 'givers of life'. We may call this, if we like, either magic or primitive science, for it partakes of the nature of both. When these means did not bring the dead back to the familiar life again, the idea must have arisen that he was living a life of his own, there is the grave, like that dream life which each man believed he sometimes lived in sleep. This- and other things as we shall see- gave rise to the idea of 'soul', but certainly not as yet the immaterial soul of philosophy, and in time there grew up the conception of a land of souls or of the dead, where the dead congregated. But the old idea still persisted side by side with the new- the dead is in his grave and in the realm of the dead, wherever that may be. Means of revival or resurrection were still applied. It may even be that the dead is placed under a protecting goddess who because she is the great mother goddess, is a 'giver of life'. Religion and magic seem to flourish together, and both are invoked to benefit the dead. As time goes on the dead seem to get ever more important. We cannot tell if some of them are worshipped, but it is likely enough to be the case. True, they are dependent on the living,

but the living are also dependent upon them- for protection, for guidance, for counsel, for fertility- if only because vegetation grows out of the earth where the ancestors are buried. If later, as seems to be the case, there is in some quarters a reaction against the claims of the dead, it does not result in a denial of survival, that was taken for granted, but in an attempt to put an end to it. When the attempt failed- as it must have done- it quite possibly aided in the development of the idea of 'spirit' and of a place of departed spirits. At any rate when the light of history shines upon the complex of beliefs connected with the dead, we find both conceptions in full vigour.

Observation of nature too brought analogies which were a help to the mind. The sun died and rose again, and so the dead were oriented in their graves; the moon grew and diminished and died and lived again, and so would men; the vegetation died and was buried only to appear again when the winter was over and gone, and so too would men rise. The snake cast its skin and renewed its life, and so was connected in thought with the dead, and the new life of the butterfly seems to have been noted too, since it became the type of the soul, at any rate in prehistoric Greece. The dead were not dead, nor living a simulacrum of life; they are powerful, for they are often feared, as well as loved and propitiated. Their existence is not that of an immaterial soul; it is a life like this. It may even be a revival of this.

II

The Beliefs and Customs
of Savage Peoples
in a Primitive State
Regarding the Dead.

1- Death Unnatural and an Intrusion.

No doubt there are many things on which Tylor and Father W. Schmidt differ, but one of the things on which both would agree is that from still existing uncivilised races we can get a great deal of help in building up some idea of the life of primitive man. Schmidt quotes with approval the opinion of Lafitau that these races can give us "the earliest image of the life of primitive man", (1) while Tylor begins his 'Primitive Culture' by stating that "the hypothetical primitive condition" which he is going to sketch, "corresponds in a considerable degree to that of modern savage tribes". (2) I have already drawn attention to Dr. Perry's statement to the same effect. (3) He gives there a list of the chief peoples still in the state of food-gatherers, and holds that, when the known influences of neighbouring food-producing tribes are subtracted, "the only conclusion warranted by

(1) European Civilisation, I, p. 16. (2) I, p. 21. cf. also II, 358.

(3) p. 3. See also - Sir B. Spencer, Wanderings in Wild Australia, I, p. 205 - The Australian aboriginal "affords, in fact, as much insight as we are ever likely to gain into the manner of life of men and women who have long since disappeared in other parts of the world and are now known to us only through their stone implements..."

the facts is that these peoples have stagnated, culturally speaking, for untold thousands of years". When we remember the innate conservatism of savage peoples, we may reflect that this is quite likely to be the case. Certainly with due care we may hope to arrive at some at least of the views of primitive people on our subject.

Once again we have to remind ourselves that the belief in survival, however it arose, and in whatever form it is expressed, is practically universal. The statement may sound sweeping, but is generally admitted, just as is the cognate statement that a community completely without religion does not exist either. So with existing primitive tribes exceptions have been noted, only to be seen on fuller investigation to be no exceptions. The Quennells would exempt Chellean man and the Fuegians.(1) The former is an unproved assumption, as I have shown already, while the latter is definitely disproved. Prof. H. J. Rose states that we have yet to find a race without religious ideas, and adds a note that "it has been alleged

that some of the Orang Kubu of Sumatra have none; but an examination of the exact account given of them by Dr. B. Hagen... will show that even the most irreligious of them, the Ridans, have one trace at least of a belief in the supernatural; they will not stay near a corpse".(2)

Schmidt has noted the same supposed exception, and says that the later work of van Dongen and Father Schebesta has rendered it untenable. A later attempt to find still

(1) Everyday Life in Prehistoric Times, p.37.

(2) Primitive Culture in Italy, pp.22 & 41, note 1.

another in the Indians of Ucayali has also been 'emphatically rejected'.(1) Jevons simply sweeps the controversy aside- "As every anthropologist knows, it has now gone to the limbo of dead controversies".(2)

Belief in survival then, like religion, is universal. The earliest idea about it was that the dead lived in or near the grave. "We know of no tribe, however primitive, to whom this idea is not familiar", says Karsten.(3) Man primitive or civilised, finds it difficult to think of himself as ceasing to exist. Says Karsten again: "Even to the modern savage it seems almost incomprehensible that there should exist such a thing as death".(4) Of course a savage would not hold that after death as before it there has been no change, and that everything goes on in the usual way. Even if his mentality were only pre-logical, as M. Levy-Bruhl thinks, that is a fact which is bound to force itself on his attention: A change there has been, but not in the way of the deceased ceasing to exist. The dead are still, for example, the owners of their own property, and even in some cases, of the land of the community, which cannot be alienated from them.(5) The change is usually taken to be the permanent loss of the soul, which is what death means to primitive folks.(6) In a world which to them is overrun by sorcery the reason is obvious; it is that some evil worker has brought about

(1) W.Schmidt, Origin & Growth of Religion, p.58.

(2) Introduction to the History of Religion, p.7.

(3) Origins of Religion, p.276. (4) Ibid. p.162.

(5) L.Levy-Bruhl, The 'Soul' of the Primitive, p.107.

(6) E.S.Hartland, E.R.E., iv, pp.412b, 415a.

the change by the practice of magic. So arises the well-known fact that for many savages there is no such thing as natural death. All deaths are violent, in the sense that if they are not caused by weapons and wounds they are caused by the evil practices of sorcerers. Dr. L. Bayles Paton points out that in many languages there is no word for 'to die', but only for 'to be killed'.(1) It is taken for granted that if men were left to themselves they would just go on existing. "To the malice of the keebet (priests) was ascribed death, and the Abipones quaintly said that were it not for the keebet and the Spaniards, they would never die".(2) "Witchcraft in fact is the ordinary reason given by savage and barbarous peoples for a death".(3) Frazer often alludes to the belief,(4) and Miss Bendann devotes a chapter to the subject in her 'Death Customs', in which she shows that very seldom indeed is old age ever taken to be a reason for death.(5) Those Australians, says Karsten, whose supreme being is Daramulun, inform us that he is simply in that state in which all human beings would be "if not prematurely killed by evil magic".(6) Death is some sort of intruder then, and continued existence a thing to be taken for granted. Andrew Lang sums up by saying-

"Anthropologists continually tell us, with truth, that the idea of death as a universal ordinance is unknown

(1) Spiritism & the Cult of the Dead in Antiquity, p.4.

(2) L.H.Gray, in E.R.E., i, 29a. (3) E.S.Hartland, E.R.E., iv, 413a. (4) As for example in Belief in Immortality, ii, 16, about Maoris. (5) Chap.II, pp:31-44; also p.16.

(6) Origins of Religion, p.182.

to the savage. Diseases and death are things that once did not exist, and that normally ought not to occur, the savage thinks. They are, in his opinion, supernormally caused by magicians and spirits. Death came into the world by a blunder, an accident, an error in ritual, a decision of a god who was before death was. Scores of myths are told everywhere on this subject".(1)

These myths have been classified by Frazer into four main types. Indeed it is a subject to which he is continually returning in his books.(2) Two of these types are very similar. In one- the 'Two Messengers' type- a god sends a messenger, usually an animal of some sort, to men with a message that they shall live and not die. Either from sloth or malice the messenger delays on the road, and another messenger sent with the precisely opposite message, travels with all haste and gets there first. So death was fixed as the destiny of mankind. In the other it is the moon, which of course has immortality since it dies and rises again, who sends a messenger to man to say that such an experience will be man's also. Stupidity or resentment at some offence makes the messenger reverse the message, and so the moon dies to live again, but not man. Another tells how the Creator offered man a choice between a stone and a banana. Very shortsightedly he preferred the latter, and so the mortality of the plant passed to him since it dies after producing its fruit, while the stone persists unchanged. The remaining type is the very interesting one which credits the serpent

(1) Andrew Lang, *The Making of Religion*, p.203.

(2) *Belief in Immortality*, Lect.iii, pp.59-86.(Vol.I)
Folklore in the Old Testament, I, Chap.ii, pp.45-77.
Golden Bough, (3rd.Ed.) ix, (The Scapegoat) pp.302-5.
Worship of Nature, I, Chap.v, passim.(pp.89-315.)
Also *Belief in Immortality*, II, 392, III, 260 &c.

with the possession of immortality because it periodically casts its skin and so apparently renews its youth. This power man had too, but lost it, according to one form of the story, because the sloughing process, which was not on any account to be witnessed by anyone, was in the case of an old man accidentally witnessed by his grand-daughter. In another form a little girl refused to recognise her mother in her new guise, and made so much noise about it that the mother resumed the old skin to convince her, and lost this convenient power for ever.

This version Frazer connects with the well-known story in Genesis "of man's first disobedience". He looks upon it as the Semitic version of the widespread story as to how man lost his immortality and the serpent acquired it. The original version of the story, he thinks, made the woman, tricked by the serpent, eat the other tree- a veritable tree of death- while the serpent itself ate of the tree of life.(1) This explains naturally the presence in the narrative of two trees, and rounds off the role of the serpent, as well as explaining its presence at all. This may quite well be the case, and if so it shows the Hebrew writer taking over a story which has come down from primitive times and adapting it in view of his higher conception of God.

There are other stories of the loss of immortality, which

(1) Folklore in the Old Testament, I, pp. 51f. & 76f. The matter is discussed with reference to Frazer's ideas, by A.S. Peake in Peake's Commentary, pp. 138b ff.

cannot be put into these four classes- as the Hawaiian story that an evil deity introduced death out of spite because he could not give life to the image he had made as the good gods had done, or the Pelew Islands story of the trick by which the water of immortality was spilled and so the mother of men cheated out of the boon of deathlessness.(1)

But enough has been said to show that this primitive philosophy, as Frazer calls it,(2) which would try in ways like this to account for the perplexing and disturbing fact of death, lets us see how much primitive man felt it needed to be explained. It was unnatural, an intrusion, to him, and it is a development and refinement of the same line of thought to find Hebrews, and after them, Christians, connecting it, an unnatural thing to them too, with something so unnatural as sin.(3)

But death, unnatural as it seems, does come to men, and men survive it. This is how Frazer puts it in his latest book.- "Men commonly believe that their conscious being will not end at death, but that it will be continued for an indefinite time or for ever, long after the frail corporeal envelope which lodged it for a time has mouldered in the dust".(4)

This belief is held by "most, if not all, of those peoples of lower culture whom we call savages or barbarians, and there is every reason to think that among them the belief

(1) Belief in Immortality, II, 392, III, 260. Many other isolated examples are given in I, 73-83.

(2) Ibid. I, 74.

(3) Other references regarding death as an intrusion &c. are-Primitive Culture, I, 336, 355: E.R.E., iv, 411b, 412-4a: Death Customs, 21-30: The Threshold of the Pacific, 81ff.: The Essential Kafir, 76ff., 107: Magician & Leech, (W.R. Dawson) 2ff. &c.

(4) Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion, I, 3.

is native". It is his considered opinion that the belief is not due to contact with higher races or with any of the great historical religions, but originated among them in a stage of culture at least no higher than that they now stand at, and has been handed down substantially unmodified. The great religions did not originate the belief, they accepted it and built upon it, especially in the way of bringing into it an ethical significance.(1)

This is very valuable support to the general position, and in addition the opening statement, which I quoted first of all,⁽²⁾ implies a view of death which is widespread among primitive peoples. They express the view that death is unnatural, but in addition many of them hold the view that death- and birth too for that matter- are simply incidents, and recurring incidents, in the course of life. Men have died before, and been born before, and they will again. The 'conscious being' has inhabited more than one 'frail corporeal envelope'. We saw evidence of the belief in the custom in the Neolithic- which is the earliest for which we have proof- that children were buried beneath the floors of houses to facilitate their rebirth from one of the women of the family. Examples of the practice among savage peoples are simply legion. The belief is so strong among Australian aborigines, that, says Marett, "in his own case the Australian will send

(1) Fear of The Dead in Primitive Religion, I, pp.3f.

(2) I.e. quotation beginning on line 18 on previous page.

back an unwanted child to be reborn, though not without decent regret, as we may well believe".(1) At San Cristoval adults were buried elsewhere, but children were often buried in the houses.(2) The Gonds bury children, especially if still-born, under the threshold of the house, and the Andaman Islanders under the hut itself, and assign as the reason the purpose to facilitate rebirth.(3) The Minoans, the predecessors of the Greeks, had the custom of house-burial, and for children especially, while the Romans buried children under the eaves of the house.(4) Earlier still all Romans were buried in their houses, until the law forbade it,(5) as the law forbids it to-day in certain of the British Dominions. It is forbidden, for example, among the Ibibio of Southern Nigeria, but there is still reason to believe, as I learned from a missionary in the district home on furlough, that it is carried on in some remote places in spite of that. Of these same Ibibio it is said-

"If one child after another dies in a family- or, as most peoples say here, 'The child keeps on dying', since it is thought to be the same soul trying to incarnate- a finger or toe is cut off or the body burnt, so that the troublesome visitor may leave the mother in peace".(6)

But the point is already plain enough. House-burial and other customs indicate a belief that the 'conscious being'

(1) R.R.Marett, Sacraments of Simple Folk, p.35.

(2) The Threshold of the Pacific, pp.227f.

(3) Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion, p.20 (Vol.I)

(4) Death Customs, p.174 & Note.

(5) Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion, pp.17f.

(6) P.Amaury Talbot, Life in Southern Nigeria, p.151. For house-burial see p.142.

or living entity, or whatever it may be called can inhabit in succession more bodies than one. Behind such a belief there is obviously another belief, the belief in a soul- to give what Frazer call a 'conscious being' its usual name- which survives death. Bertholet, in his little book on the Transmigration of Souls lays down three presuppositions as necessarily antecedent to any such belief, and the first of them is this- "The belief that man has a soul which can be separated from his material body"⁽¹⁾. Savages, and even more civilised folks, explain sleep and trances by the temporary absence of this soul, and regard dreams as the soul's adventures while so absent. Death itself is regarded by them all as the permanent absence of the soul from the body. It has gone, and cannot, or will not, return. What is meant by this belief it will now be necessary to consider.

(1) P. 2.

2- The Soul.

When the belief in a soul originated it is impossible to say, but there are many conjectures as to how it arose. One connects it with the belief in reincarnation which we have just been considering. Family resemblance is a familiar fact to everyone, and the resemblance of children to dead kinsmen appears to have prompted in the mind of primitive man the idea that they have been born again in the children. "It seems evident", says Bendann, "that

the resemblance existing between children and their ancestors must have contributed much to the idea that the souls of the departed are reborn in their successors".(1)

So to some Australian tribes there are no new souls.

Among the Arunta "when a child is born it is simply one

of these old ancestors who has undergone reincarnation... The Arunta firmly believe that a child, in spirit form, if it chooses to do so, can enter any woman who comes near to its Knania tree or rock".(2)

"The old men, who are supposed to know everything, will often decide upon the particular ancestor who has once more come amongst them in human form".(3)

Presumably a resemblance of some kind must be the basis

(1) Death Customs, p.184.

(2) Sir Baldwin Spencer, Wanderings in Wild Australia, I, p.283.

(3) Ibid. p.60.

of the identification. The Bantu, who believe that their ancestors revisit them, and even live with them in the form of snakes, recognise the ancestor who is incarnate in the snake by certain signs or his ~~character~~ which they think the reptile exhibits, or even by such accidental signs as similar scars.(1) Much more is that so with the strong resemblance which quite often exists between a child and his grandfather, and which has resulted in a custom very general till recently, of naming the first son in a family after the paternal grandfather. To many primitives, as Lévy-Bruhl reminds us, giving a child a name really consists in 'discovering' its true name,"that is, which member of the family is reincarnated in him".(2) How it is done in West Africa at any rate is shown by Miss Kingsley:- "The new babies as they arrive in the

family are shown a selection of small articles belonging to deceased members whose souls are still absent: the thing the child catches hold of identifies him".(3)

The next step would be to infer that all living persons are re-appearances of the dead, are, as we would put it, animated by the souls of the dead. To Frazer this is one of the roots of the belief in immortality,(4) but surely it also is, if not a root of the idea of soul, at least an aid to its development. For in each re-appearance there must have been something which was common to all, and speculation about that, along with other factors,

(1) Essential Kafir, p.87. (2) The Soul of the Primitive, p.211. (3) M.H.Kingsley, Travels in West Africa, p.493, quoted in Ritual & Belief, p.31. (4) Belief in Immortality, I, pp.28f.

is likely to have gone to the building up of the conception.

For Frazer, however, as indeed for Tylor also, the phenomena of dreams are of the utmost importance in relation to the belief in the soul.(1) Tylor's view of the matter, which authorities so modern as Lowie and Karsten still regard as highly probable,(2) is that the idea of a soul originated in two groups of phenomena- the differences between a living body and a dead one, and the fact that primitive peoples take their dreams seriously. When they see and meet with the dead in dreams they usually take that for a real experience. We are hardly warranted in saying, as some do,(3) that savages do not distinguish between dream and waking experiences, for as a matter of fact they often do.(4) The world of dreams, however, is for them a real world too. Havelock Ellis tells how in a vivid dream he saw his body lying on a rug before the fire and smouldering, while he stood over it and reflected that it was unlikely that he would be able to use it again for the future.(5) This prompts the reflection that we can hardly doubt that the 'mechanism of dreams' has helped 'to evolve and maintain' the belief in "spirits". To the subject he returns again at the end of the chapter on "Dreams of the Dead" in the "World of Dreams", and states the same conclusion there with even

(1) Belief in Immortality, I, p.27.

(2) Lowie, Primitive Religion, p.108; Karsten, Origins of Religion, p.57; Tylor's view stated-Primitive Culture, I, pp.428ff, &c. (3) E.g. Frazer, in ref. given above.

(4) A. Lang, Making of Religion, pp.55 & 114.

(5) Impressions & Comments, Third Series, pp.188f.

greater emphasis.(1) J. S. Lincoln in "The Dream in Primitive Cultures", (p.45) sums the matter up in this way-

"Specifically, a review of some of the evidence shows conclusively that from dreams the beliefs in the existence of the soul or double, in the continued existence of the spirits of the dead, and in the immortality of the soul, and in an abode of the dead, either originated or were in part derived".

So we can at least assert that dreams are among the roots of the idea of the soul, or are aids to its development.

For Andrew Lang the phenomena of dreaming undeniably suggest the belief in the endurance of the soul after death, but he finds corroboration in other things. Clairvoyance, scrying, dreams, trance, second sight, "would confirm, if they did not originate, the belief in the separable soul."(2) It is hardly possible to deny this also as a contributory cause at the very least, especially in the light of such a book as Paton's Spiritism, which shows that what we know as occult phenomena are perfectly well known at all stages of culture.(3)

All this lends point to the protest of Bendann against assigning all such ideas to the one origin. She deprecates the 'psychological mechanism' which would regard similar phenomena as due to similar causes, and asks for an analysis of the concrete material in order to get at the origin of the conception in each particular case. Such a process will reveal many origins, or at any rate contributory factors, and consideration of the various

(1) Havelock Ellis, The World of Dreams, pp.210f. See especially the note at foot of p.211.

(2) Making of Religion, p.113. Cf. also p.138.

(3) Lewis Bayles Paton, Spiritism & the Cult of the Dead in Antiquity.

opinions given above seems to tell in the same direction.(1)

That Frazer has something of the same sort in mind is shown by his saying that if his explanation "does not account for all the facts, it probably accounts for many of them". "I do not doubt," he continues, "that many other inferences, drawn from experiences of different kinds have confirmed, even if they did not originally suggest, man's confident belief in his own immortality"- a belief which for him means the survival of the soul, or more correctly "the continued existence of conscious human personality after death".(2) On the argument as set forth that is about as far as one is entitled to go.

These things may have originated the idea of a soul and its survival, or they may only have confirmed it. The view of Durkheim that the idea of soul, not only in germ but in all its essential characters, is coeval with humanity, has been effectually disposed of by Hartland,(3) and in the nature of the case can hardly be more than a guess. H. B. Alexander, while stating that our modern contrast of soul and body, and their separability, is a metaphysical conception without precise equivalent in primitive culture, yet goes on- "Nevertheless, there are

among primitive men forms of belief (so nearly universal in occurrence that they may be said to exist by a kind of instinct of the human intelligence) closely analogous to the metaphysical conception of the soul".(4)

(1) Miss Bendann makes her protest on p.4 of Death Customs.

(2) Belief in Immortality, I, p.28 & p.25.

(3) Ritual & Belief, pp.124f. & p.127.

(4) E.R.E. xi, 725a. in article Soul (Primitive).

If this means, as it seems to do, that when man is confronted with the startling fact of death, and begins to think it out, something like the belief in a soul, at any rate in germ, grew in his mind, we may take it as likely enough. Primitive man's belief in a soul is still our belief, though it has undergone considerable transformation since his time. Crawley, who has thought and written a great deal on the subject, traces the history of the idea for us with great probability. Between the living and the dead body a difference is observed, and the inference is drawn that something, 'ideated vaguely at first', has gone out. Later this is thought of as 'a special entity, or identified with one or other part of the living organism'. A second stage is to regard a man's 'life' as himself in replica, a 'copy' or 'other self' which animates him. Then this replica is taken to be a miniature one, a little man inside who moves the man, or even an animal, a belief of which there are many examples in folklore. It is to be noted that there is no contrast here of material and spiritual. The soul is as material as the body, if perhaps more rarefied. Crawley then goes on to show the things with which the soul has been identified in all these stages. Life and the blood are taken to be the same- an identification which we have seen reason to believe was made by some of the earliest races of mankind. It is found also in the Old Testament. To some, like the Iroquois, the life is the flesh- an infer-

-ference from the experience of nutrition- to others the heart is the seat of life, or the kidney fat, as among the Australians, or some other part of the organism. The belief that the breath is the life, or that the life is in the breath, is to be found in every quarter of the globe. Traces of it are to be found in many languages, where the word used for soul or spirit originally meant breath. One would expect this inference to be made from the absence of breath in the dead. In early books of the Old Testament now breath, now blood, is life. Neither belief managed to oust the other. It is generally in the 'third stage of culture- that of the higher barbarism' that the idea of the shadow, or the reflection, or the portrait, as the soul, becomes prominent. This also is a widely known belief, and because of it the dead themselves are often called 'shades'. There are traces of this in the Old Testament too, if the mysterious word 'rephaim' can truly be translated 'shades'. The dead then can cast no shadow, being themselves but shades. The life too is sometimes likened to a fire, and so is spoken of as a fire. This is natural enough, and depends also on a fact of observation, namely that the cold of death succeeds to the vital warmth of life. We saw that the early races of man seemed to have noted the fact, for they often buried their dead on or near hearths, or lighted fires on their graves, while it sometimes looks as if fire itself had been directly applied as a sort of 'giver of life'. Thus

far then does Crawley take us in a summary which can be seen to be substantially accurate, set forth as it is with a number of illustrative instances which may be very largely added to from almost every book which touches on the subject.(1) To make it complete we shall have to add the 'name-soul', for the 'name of a person is his very soul', (2) and it is worth noting here that 'the name is quite as physical a thing for the unlettered as is the phantasm'. The name is not just a label, nor a symbol, but 'a kind of breath-body'. (3)

The soul then, 'is the source of life, or is itself life', (4) and the soul is a material thing, just as the body is. "So tangible a substance is the soul that it

can be caught in a trap consisting of loops attached to a central stick, an apparatus employed by professional soul catchers of Borneo and Polynesia". (5)

It is not till we come to Plato that we get the soul as an immaterial entity which can be contrasted with the body. Because of this fact, which is both well-known and generally admitted, M. Levy-Bruhl would deny to primitive man any conception of the soul whatever. (6) To him there is no contradiction at all in a man being in two places at one time, whether alive or dead. Examples mainly taken from the belief in lycanthropy are set forth to prove 'the duality and bi-presence of the individual', (7) and then

(1) Summary is from E.R.E., viii, pp. 9f. (Life & Death, Primitive); cf. also- Golden Bough, iii, pp. 26-100 & 319; Origins of Religion, pp. 49-60; Life Beyond Death, by J.T. Addison, pp. 3-9; E.R.E., xi, pp. 725-8, &c.

(2) E.R.E., ix, 135a. (G. Foucart); Golden Bough, iii, 319.

(3) E.R.E., xi, 727b. (4) Ibid., viii, 10b. (5) W.D. Hambly, The History of Tattooing, p. 110. (6) 'Soul' of the Primitive, pp. 232f. (7) Ibid., 158-184.

the process is repeated, with examples which occupy two chapters, to show that the dead are often thought of as in two places at once, or in two forms at once.(1) But this is not only a conception of primitives, and due to a pre-logical mentality. It is a conception which may be encountered at all times, and is still a popular one in our own times and in our own land, as I have shown, for the dead are thought of as being in Heaven and in the cemetery at one and the same time. This would be explained, if an explanation were attempted at all, by saying that the soul was with God while the body was in the grave, not by holding that the same individual can be in two places at the one time. That the soul is material to primitives is not to say that it is simply the person over again, still less to say that they have no conception of the soul. It is merely to deny that they have our conception. The usual conception of the separable soul covers all the facts which Levy-Bruhl adduces, without needing any special kind of psychology to explain it. This point is dealt with from another point of view by Karsten,(2) who analyses some of the examples given and shows that they do not bear the interpretation put upon them, while one at any rate of the writers quoted shows that the people he is dealing with have an idea of the soul and even a word for it.

(1) Ibid., Chapters ix & x, pp.261-300.

(2) Origins of Religion, pp.22ff.

Far from having no conception of the soul, some primitive peoples seem very generous indeed in the matter. Hurons assign two souls to man; and the Fijians, and the Finns, and the early Chinese.(1) The Koryats and the Ao-Nagas give him three,(2) West African Negroes and Dakota Indians four,(3) and the Ostyaks as many as seven.(4) This list is in no way intended to be exhaustive. The simplest and most natural explanation is that which regards the multiplication of souls as due to savage philosophy which tries to reconcile conflicting beliefs. For example, the belief that the soul lingers near the body and yet is in the land of the dead is sometimes explained by positing two souls, a soul which remains and a soul which goes.(5) Karsten, after remarking on the confusion of the subject and the individual differences among primitive peoples, yet finds a general agreement- "We are entitled to make

a rough distinction evidently between the body-soul and a free-soul, although it is difficult to say whether, to the savage animist, this distinction is really as clear as it is to us, or even whether for him it exists at all".(6)

As he states elsewhere, it is sometimes not a case of different kinds of soul, but of the same soul acting under different forms.

The primitive conception of the soul then, is not ours, though, as Alexander says, it is analogous to it, and as events have proved, has shown itself capable of leading up to it when the true conception of spirit was realised.

(1) Life Beyond Death, p.8; Aboriginal Siberia, 165. (2) Ibid. 149; Ao-Nagas, 223ff. (3) E.R.E. ix, 281b; Life Beyond Death, p.9. (4) Ibid. p.9; E.R.E. ix, 579a. (5) Life Beyond Death, p.8. (6) Origins of Religion, p.57. Other reference, p.55.

3- The Body.

According to George Whitehead the Car Nicobarese give to the spirit of man the fine name of 'the master of the body (or flesh)'.(1) There are few primitive peoples who follow their example. The rule is rather seen in the name prevailing among the Chukchee, which means 'belonging to the body'. Still another term in use among them means 'vital force of living being', and the seat of the soul is believed to be the heart or the liver.(2) To the Ainu the soul after death inhabits a body exactly like the present one- so necessary is the association between them.(3) So though the soul, or ghost, or life principle, or animating principle, is recognised, and is an established fact of savage psychology, we must not think that the body is of no importance, far less something detrimental- a trammel or a prison house of the soul. Rather "the soul's comfort and the fullest exercise of its powers depend upon its connection with some sort of body".(4)

(1) In the Nicobar Islands, p.123.

(2) M.A.Czaplicka, Aboriginal Siberia, p.260

(3) Ibid.,p.275; Rev.J.Batchelor, The Ainu & their Folk-Lore, p.568. (4) E.R.E.,xi,729b.(H.B.Alexander).

To primitives a soul is something which a man has, rather than what he is, and if he identifies himself with anything, it is rather with his body than with his soul.(1) All which is just to say that to him there is no sharp distinction between soul and body such as exists for us. . This is a contrast which is simply unreal to him. The soul is intimately bound up with the body, so intimately indeed that what affects the one necessarily affects the other. To prevent the dead from walking many methods are resorted to, but all are methods which affect the body. The bones are broken with mallet blows, or the backbone is broken, as Grettir the Strong snapped the spine of the corpse of Glamr in the Grettis Saga.(2) Sometimes the head is taken off or the skull smashed, or nails or thorns are driven into heart and feet. Sometimes, to make completely certain, the body is cut into small pieces, or burned to ashes, or both. The commonest method, however, is that to which man seems to have resorted in the morning of his day- to bind the corpse as tightly as possible. The Dieri, for example, bind the great toes together and fasten the thumbs tightly behind the back. Some of them keep the neighbourhood of the grave swept for a month or so, and watch for footsteps. If they see any they assume that the dead is restless, and remove the remains to some other spot where he will sleep in peace.(3)

(1) E.R.E, xi, 728a; ii, 755a. (H.W. Robinson in art. Body).

(2) S. Baring Gould, A Book of Folklore, 146.

(3) Belief in Immortality, I, 144; this and most of the preceding examples are to be found in Frazer's Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion, II, 63-94. It is the custom now for undertakers, I am informed, to bind the great toes together, the reason given being that it serves an obvious and useful purpose.

With others the body is so tightly bound up that the intention seems to be to make it as like a ball as possible, a procedure which reminds us of the Chancelade skeleton. Altogether the impression one gets from these precautions is that if the spirit walks it takes a solid enough body with it, or perhaps it is a solid body. In other words the distinction between soul and body is known and stated, but in thought they are not kept apart. Indeed if their belief in a soul were not known, the manifestations might quite well be taken for the work of the body.(1) An interesting and amusing example which Frazer gives from South-eastern Australia is to the point. Here, as elsewhere, the personal property of the dead is usually buried with him, but if the deceased was ill-tempered in life this was dispensed with in case he would sally out from the grave with his weapons and assault the living in a fit of passion.(2) Quite often however, modern ghost stories exhibit the same confusion, and for that matter, spiritualist seances as well, all of which shows clearly the persistence of what must have been the primitive conception, that the dead man was the body, and lived some sort of life in the grave.

Behind the burial customs of Palaeolithic man there must have been this feeling, as we have had reason to see, and he evidently found it as difficult as modern savages

(1) Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion, ii, 27 & 81.

(2) Belief in Immortality, I, 146.

do to separate 'the visible body from its invisible life'.(1)
On this difficulty, or confusion, the practice of burial
rites, 'a phenomenon of world wide distribution', (2) is
based. There is a significance in the way man deals with
his dead, whether they are buried, or exposed, or in some
way preserved, or consigned to the sea, or burned. Even
when they are simply thrown out into the bush, as seems
to be the case with some tribes, there is a reason for
that too- a reason which indicates a belief in survival,
and not, as might at first appear, a disbelief. Burial
rites depend ultimately on a belief in survival, some-
times on a fear of it.

The huge tombs of the Tongans and others in the South
Seas, which are well on their way to becoming temples,
are outstanding examples of the need felt for proper
burial in the case of the mighty dead, but even methods
slighter and more perfunctory are witness to the same
need, though they may also indicate a decay in the
strength of it. The great Tongan tombs witness to the
worship of the dead, but a tomb or grave or burial rite
of any kind is witness to the feeling that the dead
deserved some sort of consideration, if only to keep
them quiet.(3)

Simple burial in the earth is the mode of which we
have earliest evidence. The Palaeolithic cave dwellers

(1) E.R.E., xi, 726a.

(2) Death Customs, 13.

(3) The Tongan tombs are described and discussed in
Belief in Immortality, II, 99-132.

seem to have covered up their dead, often very lightly, for the teeth of carnivores got at them sometimes, in the caves in which they dwelt. After that the cave was now and again abandoned to the dead, but more often than not the living and the dead shared it in company. In that case, contrary to expectation, it seems as if there was very little fear of the dead in these remote times. The suspicion, however, that some of the graves were intended to serve as a prison,(1) or that the corpse was fixed down in them, or tied to prevent 'walking', shows that it was not entirely absent.

Preparations for burial follow a pretty similar course everywhere. The body is washed and among savage peoples almost always painted, and usually painted red. Examples are the red ochre which is so much in use in Bantu tribes and the red camwood dye so often used in Nigeria. We have seen how extensively red ochre was used among the early peoples. The long continuance of the custom is noteworthy, though not always the same reason is assigned for it. The eyes are closed, for perhaps the dead can still make use of them, or some other spirit of the dead take possession and through them spy on the living. The dead man is clothed in his best, or in the special dress he has prepared for the contingency, since obviously it would not do to appear in the company of the dead as a

(1) Luquet, 172.

person of no consequence. Often shoes are put on- the familiar 'Hel-shoon' is a case in point- that the dead may be well shod for his long and trying journey. Last of all the body is bound into the position of burial, a very ancient custom, as we have seen, and one which still persists among civilised as well as savage peoples.(1)

Occasionally the body is mummified, by drying, or anointing, or in some other way, in places like Australia the South Seas, Africa, and America both North and South, and even in prehistoric graves.(2) The mummies of Egypt and Peru are too well known to need more than mention at present. The bones are preserved by some, presumably as a basis for the continued life, for in a special way it seems to be imagined that the 'body-soul' resides in the bones or the skull. This is quite commonly done throughout the South Seas. The mummy or the bones then become either a dwelling place, or a place of occasional resort, for the soul. Where this is not done a stone, or portrait statue, or image, is often provided for the same purpose.(3) The Egyptians, with their usual thoroughness in matters connected with the cult of the dead, to make assurance doubly sure, provided both statue and mummy.

As a general rule until the burial- whatever form it may take- is completed, the body sits or lies in state, carefully watched by the mourners. Food is offered to the

(1) Almost all the books in this section of the Bibliography deal with this & the following paragraphs in some way or another. A few exact references follow:- E.R.E., ix, 273a; 292a; 420b; iv, 417b-419a, &c.; Life in Southern Nigeria, 142ff; Aboriginal Siberia, 152, 159; Ainu & their Folklore, 554ff; Spirit Ridden Konde, 293, &c.
(2) E.R.E., iv, 418a. (3) Belief in Immortality, II, 313f.

dead just as it would have been to the living, only, as Frazer frequently says, presumably it is upon the spiritual essence of the food that he feeds.(1) Often, as we shall see, very extravagant signs of sorrow are exhibited, and always the survivors act as if the dead were able to see what they did, and took pleasure in their sorrow.

Then, at the fitting time, the dead is disposed of in the way customary to the people to whom he belongs. Interment in the earth, in caves, is the earliest form we know, since we know it goes back to Mousterian times. If earlier than that there was abandonment of the body, or getting rid of it by throwing it into rivers or the sea, we cannot tell. Assertion and denial are alike out of place in the absence of anything which can decide the question. Of course there are tribes which do that still, generally from a belief that the dead body is a danger to the community, as indeed it is. They fear that the death pollution will spread, which in time of epidemic is what it looks like, or, what may be putting the same thing in a different way, that the dead body will attract the spirits of the dead, or the death demon, and then these will carry off other souls with them. To avoid this the body is thrown into the bush, or abandoned with the house. So, though this may look like the survival of a primitive custom of abandoning the dead, it is not

(1) Belief in Immortality, II, 24 &c.; Aimu & their Folk-Lore, 556; In Primitive New Guinea, 218.

really so, since the custom actually depends on a belief in survival.(1)

Exposure however in a formal way, such as placing the dead on a platform for the purpose, or on the branches of trees, is a quite different thing. Zoroastrians insisted on exposure, so that the dead might be eaten by dogs and vultures. Their modern representatives, the Parsis, still carry on the custom. The severe penalties with which it was enforced show that it was imposed on a people in the habit of burying their dead.(2) Exposure helped dissipation of the corpse, and sometimes was made necessary by the nature of the ground, or by the climate in countries frozen for the greater part of the year. It is found in all the continents, and flourishes especially in the South Seas.(3)

Cave burial has been known from the earliest times, as we have seen, and it also is widely distributed. It was often combined with earth burial or its equivalent. It is still known in the South Seas, and Madagascar, and some parts of Africa and America. For the Hebrews the Cave of Machpelah leaps to the mind, while Barton tells of a cave which had been the crematorium of the Pre-Semitic inhabitants and became a tomb after the Semitic occupation.(4)

' Similar cave burials were found by Mackenzie at Beth-

(1) Life in Southern Nigeria, 127 & 151; J. Roscoe, Bagesu, 82 & 85; The Ila-Speaking Peoples, by E. W. Smith & A. M. Dale, 115. (Here, when a person threatens to come back and haunt the living, the corpse is simply thrown out into the bush, or burnt). (2) E. R. E., iv, 420b.

(3) The Ao-Nagas, 1 & 277ff., esp. 278; Aboriginal Siberia, 145 & 146; In the Nicobar Islands, 258 & note on 266.

(4) G. A. Barton, Archaeology & the Bible, 6th. Ed., 228f.

Shemesh', he says. In this we see the 'natural conservatism' of the early peoples. When they inhabited caves as dwelling places they were often the burying places of the dead as well, and the custom was kept up after other habitations were built. It led also to the excavation of artificial caves, as in Egypt and Crete.(1)

Between this and house burial there is little difference except in name. Sometimes the dead are retained in the houses where they dwelt, and which the survivors share with them. Even for savage people this can hardly be a pleasant business, and so it is not wonderful that sometimes the house is abandoned to the dead, as caves once were, or that the dead are removed to another hut built for the purpose. In New Guinea and Borneo the government has great difficulty in getting them to inter their dead in cemeteries, since they continually revert to the old custom of house burial. It is forbidden by government in Calabar too, but is still practised for all that. A missionary recently home on furlough (in 1935) informed me that one can often see, in the floor of native huts, the top of a bottle or end of a bamboo tube or some such thing, which communicates with the corpse beneath. The native theory about the first wireless seen in the district was that Old Man Wireless, buried down below, was responsible for the music and speaking, and they pointed

(1) Cave burial- Belief in Immortality, I, 330ff, II, 22, 232f., 237, 312, 320f., 357, 418, III, 285. (Here, in the Marianne Islands, these caves are called 'Houses of the Dead').

to the earth wire as the means of communication with him. Children, as we have seen, were probably buried in the house or under the threshold to ensure rebirth, and rebirth in the family. It was not fitting that such young and inexperienced spirits should be removed from home.(1)

Obermaier speaks of one Palaeolithic burial as a water-burial- that at La Quina- but this is not generally conceded. Water burials are known among savage peoples, however, and for these entirely opposite reasons are given. Slaves and the very poor and impotent folks receive no consideration, and because they are not feared are thrown into river or sea. On the other hand water, and especially running water, is a potent barrier to evil spirits and to spirits of the dead, and so the corpses of those likely to do mischief are thrown into water.(2) Death itself, in the ceremony of 'Carrying out Death' which prevails or prevailed over so much of Central Europe in Mid-Lent, is usually thrown into the water, and so, it is to be presumed, is rendered innocuous.(3) In some places if a guardian spirit is desired the body of a still-born baby is thrown into the sea, turns into a shark, and is there for the purpose. Natives of San Cristoval and of many other South Sea Islands believed that after death the souls of the best among them transmigrated into sharks, and so the bodies were committed to the sea to accomplish that end.(4)

(1) For house burial see-Belief in Immortality,II,418f., III,285;The Bagesu,95,128,145,154;In Primitive New Guinea,225;Life in Southern Nigeria,60f.,144,&c.

(2) Belief in Immortality,III,92;Aboriginal Siberia,146f.; E.R.E.,x,464a.(3) Golden Bough,iv,233-240.(4)Belief in Immortality,II,398,403;I,348,373,380.

Cremation was once widespread, as we have seen, and is still pretty frequent, but usually in other religions than Christianity. It is a practice which may sometimes arise through expediency only, as in cases where something in the district makes earth burial impossible, or where a tribe is migrating. Another reason is to protect the remains of the dead, where they are desired for witchcraft, or for insult by enemies, as was done with the bodies of Saul and Jonathan. Undoubtedly however, one reason is still the one which we saw reason to regard as the primitive one- the desire to destroy utterly the dead who are, or are likely to be, troublesome, and so to put it entirely out of their power to harm the living.(1) Hartland points out that the Zunis, who are said formerly to have practised cremation, have now abandoned it. The dead are their rain-makers, and if the dead were destroyed there would be no rain. Their obvious belief then is that cremation results in the destruction of the dead.(2) There is reason to think that dreams have done much to confirm man in his belief that he has a soul which survives death, and since cremation is hardly likely to have put an end to dreams of the dead, it is easy to imagine how the belief would arise that the effect of cremation is to free the soul quickly from connection with the body, and to send it to its own place.(3)

(1) See Death Customs, 11, for some reasons for cremation. For burning of suicide's body to destroy soul, see The Vampire, 147, quoted from the Baganda by J. Roscoe. Destroying dead woman who threatened to return- The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia, II, 115f.

(2) E.R.E., iv, 424b. (3) Death Customs, 273; Aboriginal Siberia, 44, which shows Gilyaks as saying that by being burned the dead are given to the 'owner of the fire', a good spirit. See also 149ff.; Folklore of British Isles, 9- Druid Example from Scotland.

Even when this is believed, however, there still persists that other belief that the soul hovers about what remains of the body, namely the ashes, so inconsistent is the thought of man on this matter. The Gilyaks, for example, build a small house over the ashes of the dead,(1) and we saw that an aperture for the soul- the seelenloch- was made in cinerary urns of the Bronze Age in Central Europe. The dead however, do not now return as bodies or embodied beings. They are ghosts- like the wind, or vapour, or mist, or smoke, or of very tenuous material, with the likeness of the vanished body- for the body has been burnt.

Orientation is often practised. As Bendann shows in Death Customs, the direction sometimes differs according to rank,(2) is sometimes dependent on the class or totem of the deceased,(3) but generally it has reference to the original home of the dead or of his tribe, or to the land of the dead, these two being often thought of as the same place.(4) The dead man is so placed that, when rising, he will face the land of the dead. Smith and Dale say-

"Among the Ba-Ila we have often heard it said that Hades is somewhere in the east... Of a corpse it is said sometimes: 'Do not turn his head to the south, put it to the west: do not lay him north and south, for if you do he will lose himself'.

The corpse is placed, as we have seen, west and east, with the head to the west; but the head is bent down so that if the corpse could see it would look towards the east; if at one time the custom was to bury in a sitting position, it would be looking towards the rising sun, i.e. in the direction whither the ghost is supposed to go.

(1) Aboriginal Siberia, 152. (2) P.201. (3) P.209.

(4) Pp.211, 212, 214f., 223.

We believe that this has to do with the direction from which the Ba-Ila immigrated into this country."(1)

The Tungus place the corpse with head to the north-east; the Olchis- a related tribe- always turn the face to the sea or a river. Obviously the face is set in the direction of the place of the dead, or of the way in which it is to be reached.(2) One purpose of tattooing also, as Hambly tells us in the History of Tattooing, was that the dead might be identified in the other life.(3)

The custom of applying blood directly to the dead, or letting it drip into the grave, is common enough as well. Frazer gives us many examples of it, beginning with Australia and passing on to show that the same thing happened even in Greece. Peloponnesian lads scourged themselves on the grave of Pelops till the blood ran down in honour of the dead man every year. It was blood which was poured into the trench by Odysseus that the shades might drink and recover some of their lost vitality. Then in Pausanias we find beasts being slaughtered at graves, and the warm blood being poured through a hole into the tomb for the dead to drink.(4) The Australian aborigines in addition give draughts of blood to the sick and the aged to strengthen them, while blood was also used in Egyptian medicine.(5) The purpose of applying

(1) The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia, II, 119.

(2) Aboriginal Siberia, 156. cf. also Spirit Ridden Konde, 294

(3) See also E.R.E., xii, 211b. (Art. Tatuing, Mrs. C. Jenkinson)

(4) Belief in Immortality, I, 158f; Frazer's Pausanias, p. xxvi, & p. 504. (x. 4. 10.) (5) W.R. Dawson, Magician & Leech, 8-10, where many other examples are given of blood as medicine.

blood to the dead body could only be to strengthen the spirit, and Frazer even ventures the opinion that the end in view may be to give the dead strength to be re-incarnated, but whether that is so or not, we have again the persistence of a primitive idea- the idea of blood as an elixir of life, and probably the first of all to be tried. Offerings of hair were made in some quarters in addition, and very likely with the same purpose, since hair is also regarded as a special seat of life.(1)

This summary of the customs of savage tribes in disposing of the bodies of their dead and of beliefs about the body- necessarily brief as it has had to be- yet exhibits the large measure of uniformity in custom and belief in the matter which is to be found throughout the world, and also the way in which the body is usually regarded. Far from being looked upon as an instrument of the soul, and still less as its prison house, it is generally looked upon as an essential part of the personality, and necessary to anything like a full and real life for man.

(1) Wanderings in Wild Australia, I, 264f. (This girdle (of dead man's hair) contains the very essence of the dead man. p. 265) See also Belief in Immortality, I, 183, 185. Some other references to blood as applied to the dead- out of a very large number possible- may be given here:- The Vampire, his Kith & Kin, 10-18-many examples from Africa, New Guinea, Polynesia, Australia, America &c. of blood as the food of the dead.; Bagesu, 8-12; Death Customs, passim, & esp. 95-98.; Aboriginal Siberia, 160, (Yakuts who fear to work on a grave because no blood had been shed there); Wanderings in Wild Australia, I, 377, II, 765; In the Nicobar Islands, 189; Spirit-Ridden Konde, 104f.; In Primitive New Guinea, 156f.; Life in Southern Nigeria, 127, 242ff.; The Ao-Nagas, 327; Primitive Culture in Greece, 18; Dr. G. Henderson, Survivals in Belief among the Celts, 38; &c.

4- The Power of the Dead.

Now as to the dead themselves, how are they regarded? Bodily powers exerted in the ordinary way have diminished or gone, that is plain enough. But bodily powers are not the only ones, as savages well know. They credit the dead with superhuman knowledge, since they retain their skulls as oracles. "The dead observe all deeds, good and bad", say the Ainus. "Those who do that which is right are blessed by them, and those who do evil are cursed".(1) When the Arunta decide to hold the greatest of all their ceremonies, the Engwura Ceremony, the groups are summoned by accredited messenger whom no native would dare to disobey, for he carries with him the Churinga, with which is associated the spirit of the old ancestor, and he would bring evil upon him if he did.(2) It was to the dead Samuel that Saul went in his despair to learn the outcome of the battle of Gilboa.

The dead are thought of also as having superhuman powers. They are able and likely to resent insults and

(1) The Ainu & Their Folk-Lore, 552.

(2) Wanderings in Wild Australia, I, 314.

injuries. Whitehead tells of a chief in Car Nicobar who tried to dig up his father's bones and throw them into the sea. An important villager had called his father a liar, and he evidently felt that the dead man was not taking vengeance quickly enough, and wished to induce action by insult. The relatives who, in the Torres Straits Islands have the task of removing the skull for use as an oracle, are greeted on return with mock opprobrium and with showers of arrows, just as the man who, in Egypt, in the process of mummification made the incision in the corpse for the withdrawal of the entrails had to flee, as if for his life, from the bystanders.(1) Then too the crops depend upon the favour of the dead. They are the rain givers. Farnell gives an interesting case- "A singular ritual is recorded of the rain societies of North America: emblems or picture-writing representing clouds, with vertical drops symbolising rain are placed on an altar, ears of maize are placed beside them with other objects, and the corn-ears are sprinkled with water, while at the same time prayers are proffered to the ghosts that control the rain-supply".(2)

It is the spirits of the ancient owners of the land who make the seed germinate and the crops grow. Childe gives the reason- "The earth in which the ancestors' remains lie buried is seen as the soil from which the community's food supply magically springs each year. The ancestral spirits must surely be regarded as assisting in the crops' germination".(3)

But they send many of the troubles which afflict man as well, for contagious diseases are their work, and sickness

(1) In the Nicobar Islands, 224; Belief in Immortality, I, 177f. (2) L.R.Farnell, The Evolution of Religion, 170. (3) Man Makes Himself; 115; Belief in Immortality, I, 247; The Ao-Nagas, 121.

and madness are often attributed to possession by a spirit of the dead, while accidents and ill-luck are put down to their malice.(1) J. H. Holmes wished to buy a totem mask in New Guinea, but was refused on the ground that the totem ancestor would know, and in his anger would visit them with loss of hair and teeth, premature decrepitude and other evils, and then their deaths would ensue.(2) On the face of it then it would appear that the widespread fear of the dead of which so much has been written is not wholly to be attributed to fear of the unknown, the uncanny, and the gruesome, but to a conception of the dead as likely to take revenge for neglect or insult, to interfere in many ways in the lives of ordinary people, and generally to enforce their will upon them. This does not call up in the mind any conception of the feebleness and futility of the dead such as one gets from Homer's description of Odysseus' visit to them, or from some of the Hebrew descriptions of Sheol. It is not likely that man began with a conception of the feebleness of the dead and then went on to one of their power; the process must have been the other way about. Such beliefs about them are the products of later reflection, directed by a higher conception of God and religion. The dead to them- and as it seems to the Blackfoot Indians as well-(3) are a feeble folk, precariously perched on the rim of existence, not

(1) E.g.-Belief in Immortality, I, 257; In the Nicobar Islands, 124f.

(2) In Primitive New Guinea, 114.

(3) Making of Religion, 261.

to be taken notice of unduly, and certainly not to be envied. To primitive thought the dead are very powerful, either for good or evil, otherwise men would not take so many precautions against them, nor make so many efforts to propitiate them. Even where, as in Egypt, there is little trace of the fear of the dead,(1) the dead are yet to be considered and propitiated because of the benefits they can confer on mankind or withhold from them. The dead are mighty beings, Frazer says,(2) and raised to a higher power by death,(3) while Hartland uses of them the significant phrase 'divinized by death', and sums up his chapter on the Haunted Widow by saying-

"It need hardly be said that the rites and tales here discussed involve something more than the belief in the survival of death by a bare human personality. They could not have come into existence without the belief that what remained after the catastrophe was still in some degree a powerful and sentient being. It is difficult for mankind to acquiesce in the reality of death".(4)

It will, perhaps, enforce and illustrate the point if we consider the rites and customs which normally follow burial in primitive communities. Here also there is such a degree of uniformity that a summary may be taken as generally typical.

To dispose of the dead with appropriate ceremonial of some kind is universal, or nearly so, and the reason given is universal too. It is that the dead cannot rest till

(1) Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion, II, 5.

(2) Belief in Immortality, III, 121.(3) Ibid. II, 85.

(4) Ritual and Belief, 191; 231. The section on the haunted Widow extends from 194 to 234.

the ritual is complete.(1) The disembodied spirit, dislodged by death from its comfortable abode in the body, tends to linger about that body till it is disposed of in the fitting way of the people in question. So, in popular as well as primitive belief, the ghost of a murdered man will haunt the region of his killing or burying till the body is buried in the proper way, and, it may be, the murderer brought to book. This applies also to those who are buried without the appropriate ceremonies. Bendann quotes Monier-Williams as saying that he had heard it remarked that there were fewer ghosts in India now than formerly, and the reason was that 'means of communication were so rapid that few died without their deaths being known'.(2)

The same author has a convenient summary of the set of features practically always associated with the dead body-the propitiation of the spirit of the deceased, the significance attached to burial, and the ideas about future life.(3) Of these we shall see illustrations in what follows.

Sometimes, where the place of the dead is an underworld, the grave is looked upon as the way to it, and so passage there is facilitated by burial.(4) Certain other usages are resorted to, however, to discourage the dead from returning, or to make it difficult or impossible. One is

(1) Death Customs, 45; Aboriginal Siberia, 46, 146; Bagesu, 21
The Spirit-Ridden Konde, 98; Life in Southern Nigeria, 130 f.
(2) Death Customs, 47. (3) Ibid. 281. (4) The Spirit-Ridden
Konde, 193; Death Customs, 213, &c.

to take him out by a special opening in the house made for the purpose, and closed up again to prevent his return. This, it is evidently felt, would confuse the ghost, and to add to his confusion, he was usually carried out feet first, so that he might find difficulty in getting back. Sometimes an unfamiliar road is taken, with the same end in view.(1) But after the obsequies there is one obvious way of getting over all the precautions, and that is to follow the mourners home. To prevent this many measures are taken. A simple one is to run away quickly, but proverbially the dead travel fast, and so this is not too frequent. Still better is it to frighten the spirit with a display of force, or to drive him into his grave and leave him there, thoroughly cowed; or else, with a ghost hunt in which all the people join, to drive him to the place of the dead.(2) Sometimes the mourners simply sprinkle themselves with water at the grave; sometimes they cross a river on the way home, even if they have to go a good distance to do it; sometimes the man skilled in magic simply draws a line over which they all step, and then he informs whomsoever it may concern that this is a river.(3) Water, of course, is a familiar means of cleansing, even from the death pollution, and the formidable barrier which running water presents to a spirit is well known. Fire is often used as

(1) Aboriginal Siberia, 146, 150, 163; Belief in Immortality, III, 172f.; Life in Southern Nigeria, 168f. (Note here quotation from Faust, Sc. iii, "For devils & for spectres this is law, Where they have entered in there also they withdraw.") (2) Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion, II, 6-9; Belief in Immortality, III, 43.

(3) Bagesu, 129, 145; Death Customs, 121-135; E.R.E., iv, 427f. &c.

a supplement to the purification by water, for fire also is the great cleanser. Sometimes it is used alone, as when a fire is lighted on the way home and all the mourners jump over it.(1) A variant of this is the fumigation of the mourners. Any of these, or all of them, are repeated at intervals during the period of mourning. Widows at Matiambo, for example, at the end of mourning, 'are purified by passing over a lighted brazier, and sitting down with leaves still burning under their feet'. Here we have protection by fire and then fumigation, and as an addition their heads are shaved. After this they are free to marry again.(2) These rites have detached from them the dangerous attentions of the dead. Such precautions too as scraping between two poles planted close together, or crawling through rings formed of tree roots, or creeping through split saplings which are allowed to close together again after the last mourner has pressed through, are known. The spirit seemingly is scraped off and left behind.(3) In all of these cases an obstacle is interposed between the living and the dead.

Quite often measures are taken to bring home to the somewhat obtuse intellect of the departed the fact that the ordinary life is over, and that he ought with decency to settle down to the life of the dead. He is to go quietly to his own place and not return to interfere with

(1) Death Customs, 130-3; Ritual & Belief, 256; Aboriginal Siberia, 160; Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion, II, 53-62, &c.

(2) Ritual & Belief, 214 & note.

(3) Golden Bough, xi, 177-9. (Balder the Beautiful, II)

and frighten the survivors. So speeches are made appealing to him to do so, and sometimes, in case there is any dubiety about the route, giving him specific instructions, so certain are the living about the way of the dead.(1)

If other means fail force can always be used, and so, as we have seen, we have the ghost hunt, which aims at compelling the spirit to enter the grave, or to take the way to the land of departed spirits. Here again we find persisting the idea that the grave is the home of the dead. Building on this, the custom is practically world wide of putting supplies of food and drink in, or on, the grave, and of placing there with the dead his cherished possessions and weapons, or else gifts from his friends.(2) Quite often some means of communication was left, such as a hole or a hollow tube, by means of which repeated supplies were conveyed to the dead. A care for the welfare of the departed is evident here, and a desire to make him comfortable; also no doubt a hope that he will be so comfortable and contented in his new quarters that he will not be tempted to come out to look for food, or to regain his property. One of the most terrible of the Babylonian ghosts is the unfed one, who has to come out hungry and therefore angry to look for food.

So far is the custom of giving the dead his property carried in some places, that such a piece of property as

(1) E.R.E., iv, 427b.; L.R. Farnell, *Evolution of Religion*, 178.

(2) (Ghost Hunt)-*Wanderings in Wild Australia*, II, 648 (The Grave as Home of Dead)-*Life in Southern Nigeria*, 154, Bagesu, 180. (Food &c.)-*Aboriginal Siberia*, 156.

his wife (or wives) is despatched after him, and some at least of his slaves and dependents.(1) The rights of property, it is evident, do not lapse at death, so strong is the belief in survival. A story from the Loyalty Islands shows a young man tenaciously holding on to a huge yam which grew on his grave, and vehemently asserting that it belonged to him.(2) Some articles, of course, are buried with the dead because, having been used in the funeral, the contagion of death has passed on to them.(3) Often they are destroyed by being broken up, and thrown into, or upon, the grave. Articles in a grave which have been broken however, are not always there because of the fear of the infection of death. Sometimes they are broken in order to kill them too, so that their souls may accompany the souls of their owners to that land to which they go.(4) Offerings of blood and hair, which are really offerings of soul-stuff, or life-force, have already been discussed.

A death immediately plunges the family into mourning, and sometimes the community as well. So we must consider the various practices connected with mourning, since these too cast light on primitive ideas about the dead. The conservatism of primitive races is apt to result in the stereotyping of these practices. They tend to become the things to be done, often without asking why; and even if

(1) Belief in Immortality, I, 249, 275 &c.; The Spirit-Ridden Konde, 70. (2) E. Hadfield, Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group, 70f. (3) E. R. E., iv, 430b.f. (4) The Ainu & their Folk-Lore, 560f; Aboriginal Siberia, 158; The Spirit-Ridden Konde, 295; In the Nicobar Islands, 185f, &c.

questions are asked, another reason than the original one may be assigned. It is necessary always to keep these considerations in mind, for, of course, our interest is in the earliest reasons given, if only we can get at them.

The period of mourning lasts for a longer or shorter period in different parts of the world, and varies according to the rank of the individual, and the relationship of the survivors. It is natural that the mourning for a chief should be longer than that for an insignificant individual; for a father or a husband, rather than for a far-off relative.

Wailing for the dead is the first and most obvious manifestation of mourning, and it begins with the death itself, and naturally diminishes in intensity and frequency as time passes by. Sometimes a perfect paroxysm of grief is indulged in or simulated. A good example of this and other mourning customs is one observed and set down by Spencer and Gillon. When they were staying with the Warramunga tribe, in 1901, one of the older men fell ill, and in spite of the enlightened efforts of half a dozen medicine men the man died. This took place in the late afternoon when a totemic ceremony was proceeding, but the loud death wail from the dead man's camp led to its precipitate abandonment. A wild scene followed.

"On the way the men began to howl at first in a low tone, but gradually they worked themselves up and it got louder and louder. On the creek bank some of the

men sat mourning loudly, with their hands clasping their knees and their heads bowed down. I found out later that this was all a ceremonial matter and that they were men standing in a certain relationship to the dying man, who had to howl but must not go close up. The women had pulled the man's little bough shelter to pieces and some of them, according to custom, had thrown themselves prostrate on his body, while others were standing about digging the sharp ends of their fighting clubs and yam-sticks into the crown of their heads, from which the blood streamed down their faces. All of them were howling and wailing at the top of their voices, and many of them stretched out their arms, beckoning the men to come up. Many of the men rushing up threw themselves in a heap on the body, from which the women arose, till we could see nothing but a struggling mass of bodies.

One man had been to his camp for a stone knife and now rushed up yelling and brandishing his knife in the air. Suddenly he jumped into the group of men, gashed both his thighs deeply, cutting right across the muscles, and, unable to stand, fell down into the middle of the group, from which, after a time, he was dragged by a few female relatives- his mother, wife and sisters- who immediately applied their mouths to the gaping wounds while he lay exhausted on the ground...

Gradually the struggling mass of dark bodies began to loosen and then we could see that the unfortunate man underneath was not actually dead, though, as can easily be imagined, there was not much life in him. The weeping and wailing still continued and the sun went down, leaving the camp in darkness. Later in the evening, when the man actually died, the wailing was still louder and the excitement more intense. Men and women, apparently frantic with grief, were all rushing about cutting themselves with knives and sharp-pointed sticks, the women battering one another's heads with fighting clubs, no one attempting to ward off either cuts or blows... It was difficult to believe that the naked, howling, prancing figures, smeared with dirt and streaming with blood, were actually those of human beings. It was a fiendish scene. Without more than an hour's delay, a small torchlight procession started off across the plain to a belt of timber, a mile away, and there the body was laid on a platform of boughs built in a small gum tree".(1)

The subsequent proceedings were interesting and instructive. the site of the encampment was abandoned during the night, all the shelters being demolished and shifted across the creek. Only on the actual spot where the man had died a

(1) Wanderings in Wild Australia, II, 480-2.

low mound was piled up. The spirit of the dead man was believed to be likely to hover about the spot, and also the spirit of the murderer whose evil magic had wrought the deed might come, perhaps in the form of an animal. For this death, like all the rest, could not be natural. All that was fitting and proper had to be done according to custom, for the spirit would resent any want of respect. The men who stood in the right relationship cut themselves—some gashing their thighs so deeply that they were put out of action by it. Others cut off their hair and plastered their scalps with pipe clay, while all the time there was howling and moaning.

The dead man had two wives, and these, building themselves a little shelter of boughs a short distance away from the main camp, cut off their hair and covered themselves completely with pipe clay. In the morning they joined the other women, and the embracing, weeping and wailing, sham fighting with yam-sticks, and blood-letting, were resumed. 'Mourning is a very serious business among the women'. Then the property of the dead man was handed over and divided in the appropriate manner. 'The result was that everything passed into the possession of men who belonged to the side of the tribe to which the dead man's mother and wife belonged'. Evidently there was no fear of the death pollution, or of the jealousy of the dead among the Warramunga.

Three days later, early in the morning, the tree grave

was visited to find out who had caused the death. The spirit of the murderer was believed to come and gloat over his evil work, usually in the form of an animal, and the tracks might lead to his discovery. In this case there were no traces whatever, whether about the tree or about the mound in the old camp. This may be done several times, and then the remains are left alone for a year or more. The spirit however is active enough. From the tree about which it hovers, 'it sometimes visits the camp...to see that the widows are mourning properly'. At length a brother of the dead gains his consent, and announces the end of the period of mourning. The bleached bones are carefully raked out on to the ground with a stick. An arm bone (a radius) is taken out and put to one side on a sheet of paper bark. The skull is then smashed to bits, and it and the bones are raked on to a bark dish and put into an ant hill. The arm bone, still wrapped in its paper bark, is taken by the oldest man present. At sunset it was brought into camp, and after various ceremonies handed to an old woman for safe keeping. After seventeen days it was taken out, with due ceremony, snatched from the old woman who bore it, smashed with one blow of a tomahawk, thrust into a little pit already prepared, and rapidly buried. At this the women all fled shrieking, and in the camp took up again the wailing for the dead. Meanwhile the hole was filled completely, and then covered with a flat stone.

This account is interesting as showing the belief that death is unnatural and due to evil magic; paroxysms of wailing and blood letting for the dead; tree burial; a long period of mourning; the activity of the spirit, and his determination that everything should be done in the proper way; something like the use of mourning in the wearing by certain mourners of a coating of pipe clay; and second burial.(1)

We may take it that this last has behind it the usual reason. Decomposition is complete, and the soul is ready to leave the body, to which in some mysterious way, it has been tied until now. The smashing of the skull, and the subsequent rather perfunctory burial, may be taken as measures designed to drive home that lesson. The procedure with the arm bone is more mysterious, but it may be an attempt to disable the ghost in that intervening time when it is waiting to be reborn. On the other hand, it may be an attempt to prevent the arm bones from being used to make the 'pointing bones' employed to kill other natives, though, as the other arm bone is left behind, this may seem unlikely.(2)

The wearing of mourning, whether in the tenuous form of pipe clay, or in more elaborate forms, is well known everywhere. As a general rule the mourner dresses in a garb which is a contrast to that of ordinary life. This

(1) This account is condensed from Wanderings in Wild Australia, II, 482-494. Other descriptions of burials are-Binbinga tribe, 556-8; Kakadu tribe, 763-5 (A burial) Cf. also Death Customs, 227; Bagesu, 129, a somewhat similar description to above; In Primitive New Guinea, 214-220, again similar in essentials.
(2) Wanderings in Wild Australia, II, 556.

may appear like an attempt to disguise oneself to escape the dreaded attentions of the dead, but Hartland shows that its first object is 'to distinguish those under the taboo from other persons. It is the sign of the plague'. Often it is 'a device to secure his compassion; it is often a defence against his overt attacks; but on the whole tangible proof is lacking that it is a disguise to deceive him'.(1) Crawley explains it on the principle of adaptation to state. This state calls 'for particular solemnization', which is secured by a costume the reverse of the ordinary.(2) On the whole Hartland's explanation seems the more likely.

With the end of the mourning period, long or short, comes the end of the death taboo, and a return to ordinary life. Then it is believed, or at least hoped, that the deceased is finally cut off from the living and relegated to the society of the dead. It is essential in such a case to do nothing which would attract the spirit back to earth and ordinary ways. This is probably one of the reasons why his property is put into the grave with him, or destroyed after the funeral. It is necessary also that the name of the dead should not be spoken, lest his attention should be attracted, and he should come back. For this reason there is often a taboo on the name of the dead.(3)

(1) Ritual & Belief, 265; the whole subject is discussed in the section called the Philosophy of Mourning Clothes, 235-265.

(2) E.R.E., v, 60a; Dress, Drinks, & Drums, 110.

(3) Wanderings in Wild Australia, II, 820; Death Customs, Chap. x; In the Nicobar Islands, 195; E.R.E., i, 29a & b, & c

Precautions so elaborate, mourning so painful and prolonged, can hardly have arisen from a view of the dead which would make him powerless and negligible. It is rather a heightening of power which is indicated, since the dead are feared so much. And 'timor fecit deos'. So the conception of the power of the dead has developed into worship, whether in the form of a cult of the dead, or the worship of ancestors, or the veneration of heroes. So wide and prevalent is this that some would find in it the root from which all religion has grown.(1) The view of Karsten, one of the latest writers on religious origins, is interesting. While deprecating the idea that science will ever be able to trace with certainty 'the first beginnings of human culture, still less the first beginning of belief in a supernatural world, characteristic, as far as we know, of all human races which exist, or have ever existed',(2) and while criticising Spencer's view in particular,(3) he yet sets this down as the final sentence of his book-

"The worship of dead ancestors undoubtedly constitutes the most important form of primitive religion, being perhaps the one from which a religious cult in the proper sense of the word has sprung".(4)

Fortunately assertion or denial of this is not necessary to the argument. That it should be possible even to assert such a thing, with such wide and varied evidence to support it, is itself a proof of primitive belief in the power of

(1) E.g.-Euhemeros, Fustel de Coulanges, Herbert Spencer, Grant Allen,&c.

(2) Origins of Religion, 11. (3) Ibid., 18ff. (4) Ibid., 293.

the dead. With characteristic caution Tylor says- 'Manes-worship is one of the great branches of the religion of mankind'.(1) There are traces of it, but only traces, in Australia and New Guinea;(2) it is strong among Polynesians and Melanesians;(3) it is very strong in Africa, where it may be held to be the main part of the religion of the Bantu tribes;(4) it is fairly strong among American Indians generally;(5) but in Ancient Egypt, India, China, and Japan it appears in full vigour.(6) Among the Semites traces of it do not seem strong, but there are such traces.(7) There are traces of it also among the Celts,(8) and it is prevalent in Aboriginal Siberia and strong among the Finno-Ugrian tribes.(9) This list does not aim at exhaustiveness but simply at showing the wide extent of this form of religion.

The custom of adoption by childless people, and the necessity for children felt among so many peoples, depends on ancestor worship to a very great extent. It is necessary to leave behind, in the family and of the family, someone charged with the duty of carrying on the rites and offerings due to the dead and necessary for them, and so, if no son arrived, one was procured in this way.(10)

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- (1) Primitive Culture, II, 113; the following pages give the prevalence of the belief pretty much as follows.
(2) Belief in Immortality, I, 107ff., 201. (3) Ibid. 428-39, II, 32ff., &c.; E.R.E., I, 426b. (4) E.R.E., I, 163b.f., 426b.; The Baganda, 271, 273; Origins of Religion, 288 & note on p. 314 & refs. there. (5) Tylor as above, & E.R.E. I, 426b, 433-7a. (6) Ibid. 426b & relevant arts. following.
(7) Ibid. (8) J.A. MacCulloch, Religion of the Ancient Celts, 165-170. (9) Aboriginal Siberia, 37, 45, 154, 159, 163; Origins of Religion, 288. (10) E.R.E., I, 105-115. (Arts. on Adoption).

But a subject so vast as the Cult of the Dead can hardly be dealt with here otherwise than by a summary, and for this purpose Selbie gives an admirable one-

"The Cult of the Dead is among the most ancient and universal forms of human worship. Among all primitive peoples the dead are regarded as sacred and as belonging to the mysterious world of spirits... Many of the practices connected with the Cult of the Dead in its primitive form show that mourning often became a religious exercise. The removal of clothes, for example, may be regarded as a return to primitive dress in honour of the spirits. The cutting of the flesh and the hair is a form of sacrifice, both blood-offerings and hair-offerings being peculiarly acceptable in the spirit world. The covering of the head and of the mouth and the scattering of dust and ashes are forms of protection against the released spirit, and fasting suggests either a tabu or a ritual preparation for the funeral ceremonies. Among many peoples funeral feasts are a form of sacrifice. Prayers to the dead are very common and often take the form of elaborate appeals for his favour and help to the living. Here again there is abundant evidence of belief in a spirit world peopled by the dead and having contact with and power over the living. It is the belief which underlies not only ancestor worship, but the whole animistic aspect of religion." (1)

The system of Taboo, mentioned in this passage and also in connection with the avoidance of the name of the dead, is additional proof of the great power ascribed to the dead.

"This extraordinary system of society and religion was directly based," says Frazer, "on a belief in the existence of ghosts and their mighty power over human destiny".(2)

He defines taboo as "a system of consecration which made any person, place, or thing sacred either permanently or for a limited time. The effect of this consecration was to separate the sacred person or thing from all contact with common persons or things: it established a sort of quarantine for the protection not only of the sacred persons themselves, but of common folk, who were supposed to be injured or killed by mere contact with a tabooed person or object".(3)

(1) The Psychology of Religion,

(2) Belief in Immortality, II, 37.

(3) Ibid., 38.

Most stringent of all is the taboo contracted through contact with the dead.(1) Among the Hebrews, for example, the man who touched a dead body was 'unclean' for seven days, and so strong was the infection that water, the ordinary purifying agent, did not suffice, but had to be reinforced by the ashes of a 'red heifer' and other ingredients.(2) He has been in contact with strange, mysterious power, the power of the mighty dead, and so he must be kept from making himself a danger to the community. This mysterious power has various names in different parts of the world, but it has come to be known generally by the word 'mana', to which Codrington drew attention in his well-known work on the Melanesians. "It is a power or influence, not physical, and in a way supernatural; but it shows itself in physical force, or in any kind of power or excellence which a man possesses. This 'mana' is not fixed in anything, and can be conveyed in almost anything; but spirits, whether disembodied souls or supernatural beings, have it and can impart it; and it essentially belongs to personal beings to originate it, though it may act through the medium of water, a stone, or a bone"!(3)

A great warrior is so because of some amulet he wears which conveys to him the 'mana' of a spirit or deceased warrior;(4) a net which makes a good catch of fish does this because of the ghost which goes with it; and a dead man's bone, or a dead man's body has the same dread potency because the dead man himself is with it.(5) 'Mana' and taboo are complementary, then;(6) it is the mysterious power which

(1) Ibid., 39. (2) Numbers, Chap. xix; See Century Bible on Numbers, (Dr. Kennedy), p. 296, & the refs. there given.
(3) Melanesians, 119n. quoted in E.R.E., viii, 376a. (4) Ibid.
(5) Origins of Religion, 41. (6) Religion of the Semites, 3rd. Ed., 552. (Note by S.A. Cook on Mana and Taboo) The whole subject is discussed there pp. 550-4, and in Origins of Religion, 30-48, as well as E.R.E., viii, 375-9.

resides in the dead, the 'mana', which makes the precaution, the fear, the taboo, necessary. Frazer gives many examples of how the taboo works, and one he thinks specially instructive. A Marquesan wife, setting out to the police office to complain of the conduct of her husband was told by him, 'The road from here to the police office is your father'. This stopped proceedings immediately, for she could not trample on him, and the very idea of it made her hurry to the tomb with an offering to appease his spirit. "This instructive example shows how closely

the taboo was associated with the fear and worship of the dead; by bestowing the name of a dead person on a thing you rendered the thing inviolate, since thereby you placed it under the immediate protection of the ghost".(1)

The belief which can keep hungry men from food which nothing prevents them taking but fear of the dead; which is a more effective guard against robbery than locks and bars; and which is the powerful and effective sanction of law and government; certainly does not rest on any conception of the helplessness of the departed, and especially of the forebears of the tribe, who are supposed to watch over its customs and its welfare.

The dead then, were very powerful. They possessed superhuman knowledge and wisdom, and so oracles were sought at their graves, or at places on the earth which were thought to communicate with the underworld.(2) They

(1) Belief in Immortality, II, 347. See also 345f.

(2) E.R.E., I, 428b., 433a.

sent sickness and disease, and even caused death by taking off with them the souls of relatives and others. They were able to send fertility too, both human and animal, crops in plenty, success in hunting and fishing and in war. On the other hand, if angered, they could send famine, scarcity, and defeat. It was to the interest of men, then, to propitiate them in every way possible, by rite and prayer and sacrifice, and feasts of communion and remembrance, and so on, and once more the impression made on the mind is not that of the 'strengthless heads of the dead', but of the 'strong shades' of which Dr. MacCulloch speaks.(1) True, they were dependent on the living for many things- even sometimes such ordinary things as food and drink and warmth- but then the same is true of sacrifices to the gods, as primitive theories of sacrifice show. The blood is the life, and is the god's share of the sacrifice, or part of it. Then the Aztecs explicitly stated why they offered the hearts of human victims to the sun; it was to renew his failing power.(2) Even the Olympian gods were dependent, it would seem, on the nectar and ambrosia for their deathlessness.(3) The food of the gods could confer the life of the gods, just as the food of the dead could confer the life of the dead. So the dead may be dependent on the living in many ways, and yet be very powerful indeed.

(1) The Religion of the Ancient Celts, 165.

(2) Golden Bough, i, 315; ix, 279ff., 298.

(3) M.P.Nilsson, A History of Greek Religion, 157.

5- The Life of the Dead.

At the close of her study of Death Customs, Miss Bendann, as we saw, found always associated with the dead body, or practically always, one particular set of features- the propitiation of the spirit of the deceased, the significance attached to burial, and the ideas about future life.(1) The first two of these have received consideration in the previous chapters of this section. It remains now to deal with the last.

Views of the life beyond death may roughly be put into three classes. There is the view that after the change death brings life goes on. There is the survival, for a definite or indefinite period, or for ever, of the total personality, or of the essential part of the personality dissociated from temporary elements. That is, to put it in the popular way, either the man himself survives, or else the soul (or spirit) survives. There is one death; or perhaps a second death, but life in some way overleaps the chasm of death, and goes on.

(1) Death Customs, 281.

The second class of view regards life and death as alternating. We live our life, and death brings it to a close, and after a longer or shorter interval, or at once, a new life commences, to run its course and to end in the same way. This alternation goes on indefinitely or for ever. If there is rebirth in human form this is usually known as reincarnation, if in animal or other form, transmigrat-ion is generally the word used. This is probably the view most widely held in one form or another, and there is reason to believe it arose early.

The other class can hardly be primitive. It is the theory of Cycles, in its various forms, the Annus Magnus, or Annus Mundanus, or Great Year. The age deteriorates, comes to an end, by fire or in some other way, then, in the words of Shelley, 'The world's great age begins anew, The golden years return'. There is a new beginning, a re-building of things out of chaos, and events take the same course to the same end. Socrates is again Socrates, and again marries Xanthippe, and so on. "After the

analogy of day and night, of the waxing and waning of the moon, and of the eternal round of the seasons, the entire Universe itself is subject to an ever-recurring cycle of change." (1)

This view goes back to the Babylonians, and depends upon some knowledge of astronomy, seemingly based as it is on observation of the precession of the equinoxes. (2) It is

(1) E.R.E., i, 197a & b. (Ages of the World, Greek & Roman)

(2) Ibid, 185a & b. (Ages of the World, Babylonian)

known in India,(1) appears in Greece in Heracleitos, is touched on more than once by Plato, and occupies an important place in the system of the Stoics.(2) Since such a view is unlikely in itself to be primitive, and since we do not as a matter of fact find it in what we know of primitive thought, we may set it aside as irrelevant to our subject.

Of the other views the second is both widespread and early. It appears among people so low in the scale of culture as the Australian aborigines, and we have seen traces of it in the burial in inhabited caves and in huts, of infants, among prehistoric races. If, as seems probable, this was to facilitate their rebirth in the family, the belief is seen to be very early indeed. But we have seen reason also to believe that it is not the earliest belief about the life of the dead. That, we may reasonably think, was that the dead was not dead, but in time would wake out of this slêep which seemed so much deeper than usual, and resume his ordinary life. When no waking came, and the body was covered over, or buried, the dead man was supposed to be living a life of his own in his grave, which was like a house to him. This belief man has never outgrown, and as we have seen more than once, there are many traces of it still.

Primitive belief then, belongs to the first class, or

(1) E.R.E., i, 201b. (Ages of the World, Indian)

(2) Ibid., 197b.f. (Ages of the World, Greek & Roman)

type- the belief that after death life goes on, that the personality, or the substantial part of it, survives death. It is to this class also that the Christian belief in immortality belongs, though, of course, it is a doctrine much more highly developed. Christian teaching gave no countenance to belief in reincarnation or the transmigration of souls. Traces of it have been found in the New Testament in such passages as John ix,2, Matthew xiv,2, xvi,14, Luke ix,7f.&c(cf.also Wisdom of Solomon,viii,19f.), but this is highly doubtful.(1)

The dead then lived on in his grave, according to primitive belief, and probably also in bodily form, since the body was sometimes bound, held down by stones, and restrained in various ways, as we have seen. He could come out of his grave in the body- out of this belief the vampire superstition grew- and at the grave food was left for him. The grave was his house. To the Scandinavians who built barrows in historical times, for example, the dead lived on in bodily form in the barrow as in a house, and this is clearly a survival of the primitive belief.(2) No doubt it would be difficult to conceive how this was possible, but no doubt here also the idea of a dream life would be a help. A man who had been seen to lie inert in sleep, would waken and tell of his adventures. Perhaps it was the same with the dead. He did not waken through the

(1) See discussion of subject in Transmigration of Souls, 86-94, by D.A.Bertholet; John, in the Moffat N.T. Commentary, p.225, by G.H.C.Macgregor, &c.

(2) E.R.E.,xi,818a,(State of the Dead,Primitive & Savage)

day, they could see that, but who could say that he did not awake in the night time, for it was usually in the night time that the dead were seen in dreams. So, though the life of the dead is pretty much like that of the living, there are some curious inversions. Night is day to him; he loves the darkness rather than the light.

"Night belongs to the spirits, and certain things must not be done then. If a woman sweeps out the house at night, her husband will indignantly ask her why she is driving off his ancestors! The spirits cut their hair at night, therefore living men must not... It is mwiko (taboo, forbidden) to clap the hands at night (except openly in the dance), for the spirits do so, and imitation might be regarded by them as mockery, not flattery... To sit in the doorway at night is to usurp the place of the spirits when ceremonies are being performed." (1)

Things ordinarily done during the day, that is, must not be done at night, for night is the time of spirits and it is their turn to do them. This view is well-known also in Egyptian religion, that repository of primitive beliefs. When the sun-god was absent from the sky he was travelling through Tuat, the world of the dead, and giving light to the dead, for our night was their day. (2)

In the Egyptian belief, however, one great difference is at once obvious. The dead are now in a place of their own, a world of the dead. It is probable that the first thought of this is that of an underworld. This may be conceived of as an extension of the thought of the grave as the home of the dead. All their homes are underground,

(1) The Spirit-Ridden Konde, 99.

(2) From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt, by E.A. Wallis Budge, 166, 351.

and so down there is a subterranean country, a counterpart of the world of living men.(1) This view is known all over the world, and examples are so numerous that the selection of a typical example is difficult. We may take at random almost the case of the Bukaua, a primitive people of New Guinea, of whom we have very interesting studies by Sir J. G. Frazer (2) and Dr. R. H. Lowie.(3) These bury their dead in shallow graves, and for them "the souls of the

"dead dwell in a subterranean region called lamboam, and their life there seems to resemble life here on earth; but the ideas of the people on the subject are very vague."(4)

Lowie finds more in it than that, or at least goes into more detail- "They (the spirits of their forebears) dwell

in the underworld, where everything is finer than on this earth, amidst such abundance of fruit that life is far easier than here. Yet it is but a continuation of earthly existence: men work and marry, fall sick and die, when they are transformed into worms or white ants; or as some contend, into goblins of the woods who damage the natives crops. The spirits are far from hospitable to arriving souls. A favourite practical joke of theirs consists in sending the novices up trees, then suddenly seizing them by their feet and jerking them down so that the rough bark cuts open all their bodies. To prevent such scurvy treatment the kin of the deceased present them with gifts, the souls of which are designed to placate their hosts of the spirit world.

The dead are not confined to their subterranean abode, but are able to reappear at any time. This happens most commonly when one of their relatives approaches death; then they assemble to conduct him to his prospective home. However this conception is not universal, and at times the departing soul is exhorted not to go astray. But though the dead may return to this world they do not linger here, because it is too cold for them."(5)

(1) Life After Death, by J.T. Addison, 55.; E.R.E., xi, 818a.

(2) Belief in Immortality, I, 256-261.

(3) Primitive Religion, 54-74.

(4) Op.Cit., 260. (5) Op.Cit., 63f.

The summary is a good one, and we may have to return to one or two points in it, but for the moment it ~~may~~ be sufficient to point out that the life of the dead is so like that of the living that even their practical jokes continue, for we may take it that the example given is not unknown also among the Bukaua of the upper world. Each man's grave is for him the entrance to the underworld, but other entrances are also imagined, such as, for example, deep caves, natural fissures in the ground, the craters of volcanoes, and especially the place in the far west where the sun and moon visibly went down under the earth. There are few places without some tradition of an entrance to dead-land- the mundus, in the old city of Rome on the Palatine hill, and the cave in the crater of almost extinct Solfatara near Pozzuoli, are ones which come to the mind almost at once.

But the underworld is not the only location for a land of the dead. Imagination has pictured it in some land far away, as in the west where the sun dies, or in some island near or far away. According to Procopius, Britain was the island home of the dead for the Celts of western Gaul,(1) while right across the world the Torres Straits Islanders tell of 'sundown' island, away towards the sunset, to which the trade wind carries the souls of the dead.(2) Sometimes the dead are quite near, as in Car Nicobar, where they live in a marshy jungle in the centre of the island,(3) or, as

(1) Life Beyond Death, 66; Curious Myths of the Middle Ages, by S.Baring Gould, 530ff.

(2) Belief in Immortality, I, 175f.

(3) In the Nicobar Islands, 124, 151 &c.

with some Australian tribes, the spirit goes into one of the natural features of the district, a rock or a clump of trees or something of the kind, where the souls congregate according to totém, awaiting reincarnation. It is interesting to set beside this the Breton peasants' belief that Purgatory is here. "In wayside clumps, in pond-side rushes, in the furrows of the land and the cart-ruts of the dusty road, these souls in Purgatory may be seen."(1) Still again the dead are supposed to return to the country from which they originally migrated, and when the dead are buried their faces are put towards that original home of their race. This, of course, implies that the spirits journey there to get back again. With others this journey is a very long one indeed. The dead dwell so far away that it is beyond the world altogether. The Kiwai Papuans, of whom Dr. Gunnar Landtman has written so minutely tell how their hero Sido found and opened up the way to Adiri, the land of the dead. "Proceeding further and further westward, he reached the last points of this world. On the other side was Adiri."(2) Sido was the first of men to die, but since then all men follow on the road he marked out, and do as he did on that last journey. So the way of the dead is quite well-known to everyone, and the stages of the journey are pointed out.

A further stage is to soar into the heavens, and to set

(1) Folktales of Brittany, by W.B.Johnson, 135.

(2) The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea, 286.

the place of the dead in the sky. On the whole this conception is not frequent among primitive tribes,(1) but Frazer notes that the Narrinyeri of South-eastern Australia have it,(2) and says a little later that "they were not alone in holding the curious belief that the souls of the dead go up into the sky to live there for ever." He mentions the Dieri, the Buandik, the Kurnai, and the Kulin, as sharing the same belief.(3) As a rule this is more usual with advanced nations- and indeed Elliot Smith and Perry, in accordance with their Egyptian theory of the origin of primitive culture and religion, would derive the idea of a sky-world from Egypt, where it was evolved at Heliopolis, and thence spread throughout the world.(4) Outside of the diffusionist school this is not held to be proved, and in any case it does not affect our argument. The belief, in Egypt and elsewhere, is generally held along with others. As a rule all the dead do not go to the land in the sky, but only special classes or individuals.(5) This seems to me to indicate that the belief is later than the others. Egypt, for example, simply seems to have kept all the beliefs, and added them one to another. The dead man dwelt in the tomb, the dead man went to the underworld of Osiris, or else to the sky-world of the sun-god. But such inconsistencies, as we have seen, are common to the subject, and in other places as well as in Egypt. The Kiwai Papuans

(1) Life Beyond Death, 69. (2) Belief in Immortality, I, 135.
(3) Ibid., 138. (4) This is worked out most fully in the Children of the Sun: see also e.g. Growth of Civilization, by W.J. Perry, 80; In the Beginning, by G. Elliot Smith, 94 &c. (5) Life Beyond Death, 69ff.

who, as we saw, knew the way to Adiri, their land of the dead at the ends of the earth, so minutely, yet told folktales, and did things, which seemed to imply that some of the dead were in an underworld entered through the burial-place, and so made Landtman speak of 'a sort of dual existence after death'.(1) Others, like the Australians, picture the dead as dwelling in natural features of the neighbourhood till they can enter some woman and be reborn, while the Ibibio send the dead off to the ghost country, 'which may be under the earth or on the earth, but in a different plane, for a period of one or two years, after which they reincarnate- generally in the same family'.(2)

Most primitive peoples too, think of the dead as lingering for a time near the discarded body. There is, however, a pretty general notion that at some definite point in the destruction of the body- when the flesh parts from the bones, when the bones are bare, or, where cremation is practised, at the cremation itself- the soul leaves the body and goes off to its own place. It may return at intervals, as we saw among the Bukaua, and also among the Narrinyeri, Dieri, and the rest of Frazer's list on the previous page, or, as in Homer, it may never return at all, but its proper place now is the place of the dead. Some tribes indeed are not content that the dead should find their own way there, but at the end of the mourning period speed the parting

(1) The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea, 290.

(2) Life in Southern Nigeria, 128f.

guest with a ghost-hunt in which the dead is definitely driven off from human society, and sent to his own place. With others the dead body is maltreated, to show the ghost what to expect if he inconsiderately returns.(1)

Where second burial is prevalent, this is generally the idea behind it. Among the Nicobarese, with whom it is a great occasion, the washed and polished bones are simply thrown out into the bush; the dead man is done with them, and so they are treated in this uncereemonious way.(2) The general rule, however, is to treat them with care and reverence, and to store them in some family ossuary, or in some receptacle for the bones of the community. Even those bare relics of his earthly life are dear to the departed, and so they must be properly treated. Shakespeare's epitaph- 'Cursed be he who moves my bones'- has a very respectable antiquity behind it. The skull is usually carefully preserved, and often is treated just as the man himself would be, for, in Codrington's words, 'this is the man himself.'(3)

At the close of the ceremony there often comes a feast of the dead. This has a twofold purpose- it brings to an end external forms of mourning, like food taboos and mourning garb,(4) while it displays also the affection of relatives for the deceased, and assures him that he is not forgotten. How can he be, when they are feasting with him!(5)

(1) Many examples in *Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion*, ii, 6-23 et passim. (2) In the *Nicobar Islands*, 204.

(3) *E.R.E.*, iv, 443b. (4) *Death Customs*, 147ff.

(5) In *Primitive New Guinea*, 160f.

In practically all cases it is taken for granted that the dead man consumes the food set out for him. Even when the portion for the dead is cast into the fire it is assumed that this is a way of conveying it to him. In many cases it is specifically said: "This is for you." This feeding of the dead assumes that the after-life is like this one, with a continuance of the same needs. In some communities the custom has arisen of holding a common ceremony. This is most convenient in small communities, but it held, and holds, its place in the historical religions. Usually, in such a case, the bones of all who have died within a stated period are taken up, cleaned, and with reverence relegated to their final resting-place, and at the close of the ceremony comes a common feast of the dead- a sort of All Souls' Day. Where there is no second burial, this often takes place at a stated time of the year, as is the case with the Greek Anthesteria and the Roman Parentalia.(1) The Triobranders provide a typical example "in the festivities which follow harvest when the spirits of the dead return to the village to be present at the dancing and feasting, to enjoy the display of food and valuables, and to partake of the cooked dishes of food which are exposed for them- in this native All Souls' Day, or as the Triobranders would put it, All Souls' Moon."(2)

Many motives are assigned for the practice. Bendann says the original intention was perhaps to feed the dead, but she would add also the desire to secure rest or happiness for the departed or to benefit him in some other way.

Assuredly also there is the desire for communion, and the

(1) In the Nicobar Islands, 11f., 197-206; E.R.E., ii, 791f. (Art. Bones); iv, 442b.; Death Customs, 147-161.

(2) Coral Gardens & their Magic, I, 47f. by B. Malinowski.

sense of it in a common meal. There is the reason too given above- to assure the dead that he is not forgotten,- and a propitiation of the spirit of the departed; not to mention many selfish motives connected with fertility, and descendants, and good crops, and things of the kind.(1)

In general then, we may say that the life after this one is pictured as being, wherever it is lived, in its essentials, very much like this. It is difficult to suggest any other way in which it can be pictured. There is, however, this general consideration. When, among primitive peoples, imagination plays about that after-life, there are two ways possible of conceiving it. The first is, that it is like this one, only better, more idealised. The scarcities, afflictions, and disabilities of this life are thought of as gone, and happiness and well-being left. A crude example of this point of view is the Happy Hunting Grounds of the American Indians, and refined ones the Homeric 'Islands of the Blest' and the Egyptian conception of a blessed after-life in the kingdom of Ra. The other way of conceiving of the after-life is that it is like this one only worse. Of this Homer too provides an example. To be a great prince among the dead is no comfort to Achilles. He would rather live above ground as the hireling of a landless man than bear sway over all the dead, for in the House of Hades there dwell 'the senseless dead, the phantoms

(1) Death Customs, 158-161.

of men outworn'.(1) In other words this life is the real life, and the other life is only a pale shadow of it. Of this many other examples are known, as for example, the Babylonian Aralu and the Hebrew Sheol, but they are generally in the higher religions. It is not frequent in primitive religion, as has already been pointed out in this section. Cases where the after-life is pictured as painful or frightful are not frequent either, and are usually reserved for enemies.

When inconsistencies are recognised, as in time they come to be, various methods are taken to get over them. One is to multiply souls, so that one can be with the body in the tomb, and another in the land of the dead. Where two or more places for the dead are recognised, different classes of the dead are assigned to each. Great men, chiefs, and kings, are sent as a matter of course to the sky-world, while commoners go to the underworld, or stay on the earth. Retribution seldom enters into the matter, though, as MacCulloch points out, it is not by any means unknown. Yet care is necessary, for "while a division among the dead or

a series of different fates based upon moral grounds is not uncommon even among savages, attention must be paid to what, in the savage moral code, constitutes good and bad, since 'goodness' may only mean bravery as opposed to cowardice, or the slaying and possibly the eating of many victims. No doubt bravery is a virtue, and sometimes the moral code goes beyond this. We have also to inquire whither Christian influences may not have been at work as regards savage retributive notions. But in other instances (and these by far the most numerous)

(1) *Odyssey*, (Butcher & Lang), 186f.

the division may be based upon the nature of the death, the sort of burial, the character and amount of the funeral offerings, the status of the deceased, or even upon his possession or non-possession of certain distinctive marks. Something approaching retribution may also be seen in the ordeals which the spirit has to undergo on his way to the other world, often at the hands of supernatural beings. These are to some extent judges of the dead, while sometimes ghosts themselves act as judges of a newcomer and decide whether he will be admitted to more blissful regions or not. Or again they may themselves punish an unworthy ghost. These ideas do not always occur with clear precision and often mingle with each other".(1)

This admirable study, which states practically all the views on the subject, he proceeds to illustrate and develop in what follows, but it serves to make clear to us that on this point at any rate, primitive views form little preparation for the Christian doctrine.

The following points seem to me to emerge from this brief survey of existing or recently existing ideas about the dead among primitive peoples. Survival is everywhere believed in; is taken for granted and acted upon in numberless ways. Death is a fact which can hardly be overlooked, but it is regarded as unnatural, an intruder, something which ought not to be, something which is inconsistent with the scheme of things. Plainly then the story of man's fall, with death as its consequence, or Christian teaching as to sin and its sequel, is not without its contact with primitive thinking. Certainly, as a matter of practical experience, it does not seem to be difficult to make it intelligible.

(1) E.R.E., xi, 823a; the subject is also treated somewhat similarly in Life Beyond Death, chap. xiii, 81-100.

At some time unknown there grew up, to explain the phenomena of dreams, visions, hallucinations, apparitions, and things of the kind, as well as the obvious differences which death made, the idea of a soul. This was helped by the conception of reincarnation, when resemblances in a family and such like things gave rise to the idea that the living were the dead reborn. Such an explanation as the idea of a soul must have been, to inquiring minds, a great help. It showed how survival might reasonably be thought of, and as an explanation it still holds the field. The primitive conception of the soul is not our modern conception, nor is it by any means the immaterial soul of the philosophers, but it was capable of growing into the later view, and indeed did so. The body, however, was not dispensed with or disregarded. It was very important, indeed it was necessary to a true existence. The life of the dead was, in some way or other, an embodied life. Spirits among the Bukaua, as we saw, when roughly hauled down from a tree, injure their bodies. Then too in the initiation ceremonies by means of which youths pass at puberty to manhood, a mimic death and resurrection is nearly always represented.(1) That the dead rise again clearly indicates the idea of the new life which is in mind. The new life is not a watered-down version of this one. The dead are powerful; it may be even more powerful than in life. In many cases they are worshipped, but if not they are seldom pitiable. Their life does not depend on moral or religious conceptions, but neither is it divorced from them, nor incapable of being combined with them.

(1) See E.R.E., vii, 317b-8 (Initiation, Introductory & Primitive) & Myth & Ritual, 147f., 151f., where Howitt and Fison are quoted to emphasise this.

III
Survivals
of
Primitive Beliefs
into Historical Times.

1- The Testimony of Folklore.

Hitherto we have been dealing with "peoples of a relatively simple culture, or, to be more specific, with the illiterate peoples of the world".(1) With the invention and diffusion of writing a vast difference appears. We do not have to deduce the thoughts of people from their deeds, but can get at them directly. Belief can be written down and so preserved. Laws may now be codified, and so can be set out definitely before anyone who can read, or get someone else to read. Laws are no longer a mass of examples and traditions and ways of doing things, preserved in the memories of some definite class like the old men of a tribe. They can be known to all, and are at least assumed to be. History in the usual sense of the word has also become possible. Events previously known only by hearsay, can now be known by documents or inscriptions contemporary or otherwise, and at least a residuum of truth can be attained to, by comparing and sifting these. Even such a thing as folklore- the traditional beliefs, legends,

(1) R.H.Lowie, Primitive Religion, p.ix.

and customs current among the common people- may be rescued from oblivion, or from being used only to amuse and frighten children- and, written down, may become a very important science in its own way. We can only guess at the religion of the Mousterians, or of the Aurignacians, but we can be reasonably definite about the religion of the ancient Hebrews, or of the Chinese, because we have written records bearing upon the subject to go upon. Now law, history, folklore, and religion are not inventions or discoveries of the time subsequent to the invention of writing. All have their roots in the immemorial past, and bear with them marks of their origin. As a glacier bears with it stones and earth from the surface over which it flows, so these carry with them indications of their origin in primitive times. By getting at what can be shown historically to lie at the fountainhead of a civilisation, as Dr. Hooke says, we can get at the relatively primitive. It remains then, to try in this way, to get at a body of beliefs about the dead which we may be justified in calling relatively primitive at least.

Primitive law, for example, may be a help in the search, for 'primitive law is the totality of the customs of a tribe.' 'Customs that are fixed and generally obeyed are indistinguishable from laws,' and though these laws are unwritten, yet they are well-known. So when laws do come to be written down, it is this law which is codified, and any new laws are simply looked upon as attempts to supplement the ancient

law, or to adapt it to the new order of things.(1) Gomme makes the same point when he states that 'the early laws of most of the peoples who have become possessed of an historic civilisation', are accepted as history, and yet have 'no stronger foundation than tradition, and tradition of the most formal kind'.(2) The law has always a great deal to say about property, and personal belongings are so closely identified with the individual that, living or dead, they are not separated from him, and therefore are put into the grave with him because they are his. The destruction of a dead man's property has the same idea behind it. It is his, and therefore no other shall use it. In that case the added thought comes in time that he will have a use for it in that mysterious other life in which he dwells. A Breton folktale tells of a sempstress who stole half of a piece of cloth from a grave, only to be terrified by a ghostly visitant who came to reclaim it, and it may serve for the multitude of stories which tell what a strong sense of property the dead have, and how jealous they are of their own.(3) Hartland sees a survival of primitive law in the Breton belief that the property of a dead man will speedily disappear; moths will get at his clothes, his cattle will die, and so on.(4) Reflection after a time prompts the view that it is a pity to destroy so much valuable property, and so the

(1) This is summarised from Primitive Law, by E.S. Hartland, 1-5. (2) Folklore as an Historical Science, 84; He discusses the point in the section of Chap. i, which he calls Traditional Law, 84-100. (3) Folktales of Brittany, by W.B. Johnson, 133f. (4) Primitive Law, 90.

least valuable articles are left as a symbol of the intention, or the corpse is decked out in his belongings, and then they are removed at the last moment. At last comes the brilliant conception that articles of property have souls too, which can accompany the soul of the dead man, but the things themselves remain to be of use to the living. At the last it only remains for the individual to dispose of his property by will, or neglect to do it and leave it to be done by law.(1) In this connection also Hartland gives an interesting survival of the custom of hut-burial. It occurs among "the Cheremiss, a people of Finnish affinities in the south of Russia". The corpse is now buried in the burial-ground, "but when it is brought out in its coffin and placed upon the wagon... the family in bidding the deceased farewell pray him not to take his house away with him, but to leave it to his heirs."(2)

Still another way in which primitive belief about the dead, and primitive law, have survived into written law, is seen in the denial of burial to certain people. Some offences are considered so heinous that to the punishment of death this other punishment is added. This was one of the reasons why heretics were burned, and all over Christian Europe the dismemberment of traitors has been common till relatively recent times. The treatment of the body of Sir William Wallace is a well-known instance, and the Netherbow in Edinburgh and Temple Bar in London, were often adorned with the heads of traitors. It is not difficult to see in this

(1) Primitive Law, 90f.

(2) Ibid., 92.

the primitive idea that the denial of burial rites meant a denial of peace to the dead. Since he was not properly buried he could not go to his own place, but must wander restlessly about the world, and especially about his haunts in life.(1) We have seen this belief in Homer, and it is of course, the belief which lies behind the Antigone of Sophocles.

Folklore proper, is also a valuable help. It has been called a 'museum of the thoughts, sayings, and doings of our forefathers'.(2) Gomme puts it this way- "Tradition,

being the sanction of folklore, carries a weight of evidence for the past which is scarcely second in value to the historical record".(3)

Without doubt it provides us with many examples of the survival of primitive ideas about the dead into historical times. Here is how Hartland comments on the subject-

"Death is a problem to all men, to the savage as to the civilised. Least of any can the savage look upon it as extinction. He emphatically believes that he has something within him which survives the dissolution of his outward frame. This is his spirit, the seat of his consciousness, his real self... What is death but the spirit going forth to return no more?... Yet, inasmuch as it is the nature of a body to have an indwelling spirit, death- the permanent severing of body and spirit- cannot occur naturally; it must be due to the machination of some enemy, by violence, by poison, or by sorcery.

The spirit that has gone forth for ever is not, by quitting its bodily tenement, deprived of power offensive and defensive. It is frequently impelled by hostile motives to injure those yet in the flesh; and it must therefore be appeased, or deceived, or driven away. This is the end and aim of funeral rites: this is the meaning of many periodical ceremonies in which the whole tribe takes part... Spirits of dead men, like other spirits, may assume fresh bodies, new forms, and forms not necessarily human... In their new forms the spirits of the dead

(1) Primitive Law, 151-3. (2) Eleanor Hull, Folklore of the British Isles, 1. (3) E.R.E., vi, 58b. (Art. Folklore)

are sometimes kindly, at other times malicious, but always to be treated with respect, always to be conciliated; for their power is great."(1)

Dr. MacCulloch has in the Childhood of Fiction three chapters on the subject. One deals with the Resuscitation of the Dead, of which there are many stories. The water of Life, or something else of the kind, is applied to the dead, and he comes to life again. Krappe, who also deals with the point, mentions it specially in connection with the quickening power of human blood, a belief which we have noted already in the other sections. Evidently the wish to overcome death is behind these stories, and the belief that there are givers of life, if only they may be found.(2)

Another chapter deals with the renewal of life in the dead and dismembered. MacCulloch reminds us of the Osiris and Dionysos myths, and of the custom dwelt on by Frazer and Grant Allen of dismembering a human victim and burying the fragments in the fields. The victim was believed to renew his life in the harvest which resulted from his magic fertilising act'. The dismemberment myth, Nilsson reminds us, turns up again in the story of Medea, who cuts up Aison, Jason's father, as part of the process of rejuvenation.(3) MacCulloch himself is inclined to find the basis of the stories in the 'dismemberment of the dead body, previous to burial, by the early Neolithic people of Egypt'. Traces of this are to be found also among

(1) The Science of Fairy Tales, 27-29.

(2) The reference to Dr. A. H. Krappe is- The Science of Folklore, 33, 34f.

(3) M. P. Nilsson, History of Greek Religion, 55.

Palaeolithic peoples, as we have seen, and the last section has shown us that it exists still among savages.

The third chapter is on the Separable Soul. The soul inhabits the body as a man may stay in a house. But just as the man may leave the house, so the soul may leave the body, as in sleep or a trance, for example, and of course it leaves it definitely at death and does not come back. Examples of this in folklore are innumerable.(1)

MacCulloch deals also with the vampire belief, and considers it, as indeed it is, as an extension of the belief that the grave is the home of the dead, and that they live their own life there; issuing forth, unless measures are taken to prevent it, on their own terrible business.(2)

A later book- *Medieval Faith and Fable*- is full of similar points. When he summarises burial rites which are survivals of paganism into Christian times, he mentions that a dead, unbaptised child 'was buried in a secret place, transfixed with a stake, so that it might not rise and annoy the living'. 'The same was done to a woman dying in childbirth and to the child. These rites suggest the existence of the vampire superstition'.(3) He tells too of the significant custom of placing ointment in the hand of a slain man when he is buried, so that he may heal his wound after death.(4) Among the Germans the custom lingered on of burning the dead and offering sacrifices to them,

(1) See e.g. *Folktales of Brittany*, 129; Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion*, 53f., deals with the subject too, but says 'some of the motifs were too fantastic for the rationalistic Greeks'. (2) *Childhood of Fiction*, 102ff. (3) *Op.Cit.*, 23. (4) P.23.

so evidently something like a cult of the dead was still in existence.(1)

Not in folk belief merely, however, but in the Church itself, primitive beliefs about the dead persisted. The miracles and powers ascribed to relics are a plain example. The dead saint was potent still in death, and wherever a fragment of the body still survived it could do all manner of wonderful things. Evidently the mysterious connection between the soul and the discarded body was still believed to hold, and the corpse, or even bits of it, had a life and influence of its own. Theology might give its own explanations, but of the ancestry of the idea there can be little doubt.(2) We have seen traces of the belief in very early times indeed, and examples of the presence of the dead in skulls or oracular jawbones or things of the kind are legion among savage peoples. Hartland gives an example from folklore which is almost an exact parallel to some of the tales told about relics. A mourner at a funeral at New Year time, piqued at having received no invitation from any one to share the festivities of the season, struck with his staff a skull lying at his feet, and invited it, since it seemed in the same case as himself, to share his celebration. That night a venerable old man joined him and his wife at supper. After several other visits, the old man invited his host in turn. He

(1) Medieval Faith & Fable, 18.

(2) Ibid., 89.

kept the tryst and found in the churchyard a great house, brilliantly illuminated', where he was well entertained. At the close he was advised 'always to respect the remains of the dead', and then all vanished.(1) The story of the grateful dead is of a somewhat similar nature. Usually in it a traveller reverently buries a body which he finds exposed, and later is helped in his need by a supernatural helper, who turns out to be the dead man.(2)

The life of the dead man in his tomb is also well illustrated in this collection of MacCulloch's. Pious tales told how a dead monk would speak to a living one from his tomb, or how a dead ecclesiastic in danger of being despoiled would hold on to his despoiler, or how those who died in the faith and in sanctity would resent the presence of the body of an evil-doer in Church or cemetery, and would take measures to prevent it. A Scottish story on these lines is the well-known legend about the cemetery of St. Blane's Chapel in South Bute. The saint, because of an affront put upon him by an old woman, forbade the burial of women in his consecrated ground, and so men only were buried there. Local accounts say that if ever a woman was buried there, next morning the body was found outside the enclosing wall. The cemetery was of course confined to men because really it was a monastic one. Of a different type, but with the same assumption behind it, is the story

(1) The Science of Fairy Tales, 167f.

(2) The Science of Folklore, 19.

told by Gregory the Great, of two nuns who died under excommunication, and were buried in Church. When, before mass, the deacon, in the usual formula, dismissed non-communicants, they also were seen to rise from their graves and leave the Church.(1) This is nothing other than the primitive belief- one of the oldest in the world- that the dead man is alive in his tomb, or that other very old one which we have also considered, that the soul lingers near the tomb after death.(2) The strong passions of earth lasted still in the grave. Feuds would persist after death; dead enemies, buried together, would turn from each other; while love would prove itself stronger than death, since dead lovers would only rest in peace together, or, united at last, would embrace each other in the tomb.(3)

Tales are not wanting too, that the dead could be very troublesome to the living, and all sorts of devices, such as exorcism, or the use of holy water, or the Host itself, or the removal of excommunication, were resorted to, to quiet the uneasy dead. In the last resort the head would be cut off and the body impaled with a stake; or even burned to ashes, to end the unholy persecution.(4)

There is also the same confusion between soul and body, or rather the same failure to differentiate the one from the other. The dead cannot walk when the body is burned,

(1) Quoted in *Medieval Faith & Fable*, 92; and *the Vampire*, by M. Summers, 102f. (2) *Medieval Faith & Fable*, 89-91.

(3) *Ibid.*, 91f. (4) *Ibid.*, 90f., *the Vampire*, 203-210.

or fixed down with a stake. Torments for the evil soul affect the body too, and the body feels the anguish. The soul is not yet an incorporeal thing, the opposite of material. It has 'some corporeal qualities', and is often depicted as 'a winged psyche, a pigmy, or a little naked child'. How ancient these ideas are we know, and it shows how hard they die!(1)

Of local entrances to the other world there was no lack, as among primitive peoples everywhere. Every volcano was an entrance to Hell or to Purgatory, and by a cave men entered St. Patrick's Purgatory, as by a cave they sometimes entered fairyland, or the land of the Antipodes, or the world of the dead. Here once more, in outline at anyrate, is the whole circle of ideas about the dead which has come down from prehistoric times, surviving in Christian communities. Even the cult of the dead is not wanting, for there is no doubt that pagans, carrying their paganism into the Church with them, influenced and furthered the growing cult of saints and martyrs. 'In the Fourth Century the invocation of saints was general'. All the powers of the dead were transferred to them. They could avenge affronts, punish thieves, answer prayers, protect their votaries, and do all the other things which are sought from the dead in general or from the ancestors among savage peoples. Food, even, was set out for them as for the ordinary dead, and no

(1) *Medieval Faith & Fable*, 100, 188, 244.

doubt the invisible essence became theirs, while the material substance was eaten by their worshippers. Meals at the shrine, and agapes, bear witness also to the belief that the soul of the saint was present there, as well as in God's Presence. It is the old confusion- the dead are in heaven, and near to or in, their graves.(1)

That nothing may be lacking, 'visions of angels, of dead saints, of departing souls, and of the Other World, were numerous'.(2) For 'the importance of dreams has been universally recognised, and the Christian Church gave them a prominent place'.(3) Not that they were accepted always uncritically, for Gregory the Great and others give six classes of dreams, two only of which are veracious.(4) The theory of dreams is still the same- "'like consorts with like'. The sleeper's body is not far removed from death, though his spirit watches; hence spirits of the dead can communicate with sleepers".(5) Here is confirmation, if any is needed, that dreams have had their influence in at least shaping ideas of the soul, of survival, and of the other world.

As a last point it may be worth mentioning that the absolute dualists among the Catharists believed in the 'continual transmigration of souls after death from one body to another, even of animals- a process of penance and purgation which must be endured ere all souls return to God'.(6)

(1) *Medieval Faith & Fable*, 120-4. (2) *Ibid.*, 173. (3) *Ibid.*, 183. (4) *Ibid.*, 183. (5) *Ibid.*, 196, quoted from Caesarius of Heisterbach. (6) *Ibid.*, 218.

2- The Early Civilisations- I. (Egyptian and Babylonian)

There are two centres of early civilisation, and it is still a disputed point which of these is the earlier. There are those who would place Egypt first, and make her the fountainhead of all civilisation. But Mesopotamia has claims to be at least as old a centre, if not older. Influences from each have played upon the other, but it certainly cannot be said that one originated the other. Connected with Mesopotamia probably, and almost as old, is the civilisation of India, while the ancient civilisation of China may, or may not, be connected with the others. What is certain is that in these four we have the seats of the oldest civilisations of the world. In all of them the survival of the dead is to all intents and purposes taken for granted, and each in its own way has laid emphasis on one feature or another of the primitive belief. In all of them the other features are there, but on one special feature special emphasis has been laid.

Egypt, for example, has evolved, in the course of her long history, a highly complex cult of the dead. Indeed

Egyptians have been accused of paying more attention to the dead than the living. "No race," says Baikie, "has ever been so possessed by any religious idea as was the ancient Egyptian by the faith that it was possible to secure immortal life for humanity beyond the gates of death".(1) The statement, however, is perhaps neither fair nor accurate, since the benefit of the living is in view in the care shown to the dead- especially to the dead Pharaoh, who in death as in life watched over his people. Immortality was taken for granted by the Egyptians- it was an axiom with them, as Flinders Petrie puts it.(2) "It appears to have been a generally accepted dogma", says Wiedemann, "that man's life endures for ever".(3) Indeed Herodotus tells us they are credited with having invented it- an untrue but significant statement.(4)

Though substantially the same race has inhabited Egypt from the earliest period we have knowledge of till our own day,(5) yet there have been many religions during that long period. At the beginning primitive beliefs about the dead held sway, and primitive beliefs still persist in spite of everything. The dead survive, and they are alive in their tombs, so that "we may see a woman go out to the cemetery, and sit talking down through a hole in the roof of the tomb-chamber to her husband buried below".(6) This would not seem strange at any period during the long history of Egypt.

(1) J.Baikie, A Century of Excavation in the Land of the Pharaohs, 57. (2) Religious Life in Ancient Egypt, 112.

(3) Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible, v, 194b. (4) II, 123.

(5) L.B.Paton, Spiritism, & the Cult of the Dead in Antiquity, 152; E.A.Wallis Budge, The Mummy, 11. (6) W.M.Flinders Petrie, Op.Cit.supra, 113.

In the neolithic period "they buried their dead in shallow oval graves, the bodies having been first sun-dried or even smoked, as is the custom still in many parts of Africa. The body was wrapped in a reed mat or skin of an animal, perhaps a gazelle or a bull, and with it were placed pots containing food of some kind, and flint knives, spear-heads and other weapons to enable the deceased to defend himself against the attacks of foes or savage animals... It is clear they believed in a future existence, perhaps even in immortality as we understand the word. Life in the next world was to them a continuance of life in this; what a man was here, that would he be there. Passages in the Pyramid Texts and in the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead suggest that among some primitive Egyptians the bodies of the dead were sometimes dismembered, sometimes decapitated, and sometimes burnt. In pre-dynastic times the dead were buried in the pre-natal position on their left sides, with the hands placed before their faces and their chins almost touching their knees. Women of quality were buried in the same position. No example of a pre-dynastic Egyptian being buried at full length is known to me".(1)

With all this the first section has already made us familiar, and it is interesting to find it at the beginning of Egyptian civilisation.

When tombs became more elaborate, wealthy people had them made like houses, and furnished with the things the dead man had used, and supplied in great abundance with the provisions necessary. A man would see to the building and preparing of his tomb in his lifetime, and if it was unfinished when he died it was the sacred duty of his son to complete it. If rich enough he would leave a perpetual endowment so that food and drink might be supplied always. These were usually left to guilds of priests whose duty it was to see to the offerings, and to perpetuate the cult. Even poor people were buried with clothing, food, drink,

(1) E.A.Wallis Budge, The Mummy, 21.

ornaments, and tools, just as men had been in the first graves we know.(1)

An Egyptian's hope of immortality was centred on the god Osiris.(2) This was so even in pre-dynastic times, before the union of the kingdoms.(3) The story of the god is told in full by Plutarch first of all, and Plutarch has the double disadvantage of being a late writer and a Greek, but as all the elements of the story are confirmed by the Pyramid Texts, we may take it to be substantially accurate.(4) Osiris, a good king, ruled over Egypt, but was murdered by his brother Set, who was as evil as Osiris was good. The body was thrown into the Nile flood, but was found at last by his sister-wife Isis and her sister Nephthys. Discovered by Set, the body was torn in pieces and scattered throughout the land of Egypt. The pieces were found and put together by the devoted wife. The body was embalmed, and so the first mummy was made. Then comes a striking touch, and a very illuminating one with regard to the life of the dead. By intercourse with the mummy Isis became the mother of Horus. This is not only in Plutarch, but also in the oldest version of the story, in the Pyramid Texts.(5) It reminds us of the many stories of the kind which Hartland has collected in the Haunted Widow, in his book Ritual and Belief.. When Horus became a man he fought and overcame his wicked uncle, put him to death, and by magical formulae

(1) Paton, Spiritism &c.167.(2) Baikie, Century of Excavation, &c.132; Budge, From Fetish to God, 183, &c.(3) Ibid., 188; E.R.E., v, 240b. (W.M.F. Petrie, Art. Egyptian Religion).(4) De Iside et Osiride; The story is given also in From Fetish to God, 178-183; Osiris & the Egyptian Resurrection, (Budge) I, Chaps. 1 & 3 especially; J.G. Frazer, Adonis, Attis, & Osiris, ii, Chap. i. &c.(5) See text of passage in From Fetish to God, 201f. also H.D.B., v, 195a & b.; Paton's Spiritism &c.171.

brought his father to life again. So Osiris went to the west, or to the underworld, which is the same thing, and became the first of those who dwell in the west, and the lord of the dead.

For survival it was necessary that every Egyptian should be like Osiris; nay, should be Osiris. The same story was gone through in his case as in the case of the god, the same formulae were repeated without alteration as had proved so efficacious in his case, with the son of the dead man playing the part of Horus; and so a future life was assured to him. He became Osiris, and began his life in the underworld. Behind this there lies a simpler version, to which Moret draws attention-

"Some of the formulas in the VIth. Dynasty pyramids present a simplified version, in which the dead man is not called Osiris, and the officiant is not called Horus, Son of Osiris, but the rites are those which any son performs for the salvation of his father: 'O father, rise up on thy left side. Turn on thy right side towards this water of renewal which I have given thee... Take this bread which I have made for thee... It is I, thy son, thy heir!... I agree with Adolf Rusch, who drew attention to these, in seeing here a pre-Osirian Ritual.'"(1)

Here then is a family cult, without priest, and not yet elaborated, where the dead father, still head of the family, is given the offerings necessary from the family fields, and addressed thus: 'O master of the house, your hand is over your goods!' Moret would take this back to the Thinite period (first two dynasties) but it may easily be much more ancient. In prehistoric graves there is already

(1) A. Moret, The Nile & Egyptian Civilisation, 143f.

provision for the dead, as we have seen. These 'shallow saucer-shaped pits, just large enough to hold a contracted body', contain that body covered with a goatskin fastened by a copper pin, and with a single cup of pottery. The bodies were oriented, head to the south, facing west, and lying on the left side. Gradually the graves were deepened and the provision increased, till by the close of the period wooden coffins were in use, or large jars, put into a recess, while there are different sub-divisions of the grave to hold the various kinds of offerings.(1) Survival for all is evidently counted upon, and an elaborate cult is growing. To begin with, however, the grave is the home of the dead and it is in the grave he lives.(2)

Then, whether from outside influence or native growth, there came the idea of an underworld in which the dead were gathered. Quite possibly this came in, or grew up, along with the myth of Osiris. Some core of history may lie at the heart of the myth- perhaps at some early time there was a king called Osiris- but his story is obviously of the type which sets forth graphically the life of the grain, the death of the grain, its burial in the earth, and its rising again. Osiris is a dying and reviving vegetation deity of the kind of which Frazer has written so copiously in Adonis, Attis, and Osiris.(3) Into his story the primitive feature of the dismembering of the dead has

(1) Petrie, Religious Life in Ancient Egypt, 141-4.

(2) E.R.E., v, -242a-earliest belief & it still survives.

(3) The Egyptians themselves emphasise this side of Osiris- See Osiris, & the Egyptian Resurrection, I, 58, & In the Beginning, by Elliot Smith, 88. In both there are illustrations showing wheat growing out of the mummy of Osiris.

been worked. This custom also was in vogue in prehistoric Egypt, as it is in vogue, for that matter, still in Africa. Petrie gives abundant proof of the custom,(1) which the Pyramid Texts also attest. Quite frequently the skull was separated from the rest of the skeleton and set up on a brick or a pile of stones. We have noted the custom in the Ofnet nests of skulls, as well as in the South Seas and in Nigeria in modern times, and here it is once more. The soul is connected with the skull which is its special seat, and the custom is known in ancient Egypt as in so many other places. The Egyptians then, found the custom of dealing with the dead in this way coming down to them from remote antiquity, and they invented the story of the dismembering of Osiris to explain it. So early mummies have been found dismembered and put together again, just as Osiris was, until in time the custom died out. Of these elements then, it seems likely that the story of Osiris was built up.(2)

To begin with, however, it was the king who, when he died, became Osiris, for the god was his ancestor, and he was gathered to his fathers in the underworld, and became one with him. Life there was just the same as life here. The king was still a king there, lording it over the common dead, for they went to the underworld too, and were there what they had been on earth. Only things were reversed

(1) Religious Life in Ancient Egypt, 126ff.; E.R.E.v, 240b.f.

(2) Budge regards the story of the dismemberment as the late form of a legend concerning the dismemberment of the moon during her waning, or the break up of the sun-god of day at eventide, & the scattering of his members as stars. This seems unlikely. Cf. From Fetish to God, 182f.

there. The sun shone upon them in the night time when he was absent from earth, and while men slept the dead were busy with their affairs of sowing and reaping and building and working and resting in their own land.

From On or Heliopolis there spread out, with the rise of a new dynasty (the Vth.) a new theology. The sun-god Ra became the important deity, and the Pharaoh was said to be, actually and literally, his son. How helpful such a belief would be in bolstering up a new dynasty is obvious, and so Pharaoh began to compound his name with the name of the sun-god, and take as an official title the name 'Son of the Sun', of which Perry makes so much. No longer now was the underworld the place for him, where all the rest of the dead were herded together. He was a god and the son of a god; he rose to heaven with his father the sun, and travelled through the heavens with him.(1) This at first was reserved for the king alone, but later as a special favour he extended it to friends, and courtiers, and great officials, until after the lapse of centuries a solar immortality became the lot of all.(2)

So the Egyptian people took in new ideas about the nature of survival, but characteristically enough did not discard the old ones, and as Petrie has shown us, the oldest of all still survives in the same land and among the same people. First the dead is in his grave, and alive

(1) T.E.Peet in *European Civilisation*, I, 456f.; Perry, *The Growth of Civilisation*, 79-81; Paton, *Spiritism*, 172-4; H.D.B., v, 180b., 187b. (2) Paton, *Op.Cit.*, 174.

there; then he goes to the underworld without ceasing to be in the grave; then he is in heaven with the sun, and the boat of the sun is sent into the underworld at night to help to reconcile these beliefs.

It seems to me to be possible also, that the peculiarly complex Egyptian belief about the soul has been evolved in the course of the attempt to reconcile all three views. The body lies in the tomb, there can be no doubt about that, and at first the soul stays there too, with the body or the remains of it, or the skull, as a sort of home or basis. But there is the land of the dead in the underworld, or in the far west, and there is the boat of the sun up in the high heavens. How can the soul be in all of these? In time the soul is seen to be a very complex thing- or rather the man is. There is the mummy in the tomb, necessary for his life. There is the Ka- the dweller in the tomb, as once was held, or the genius or double or guardian spirit in heaven, as most think now. There is the Ba (perhaps the breath (1))- the human-headed bird which can fly so swiftly between the tomb, and the west, and the sky. It is the Egyptian conception of the soul. Petrie says-

"The actual source of the idea of the bird-like soul was doubtless in the great white owls which haunt the tomb-pits, and fly noiselessly out, their large round faces looking with a human expression".(2)

It is the earliest and most primitive belief, Petrie thinks. There is the Khu, (or Khou), - 'the glorious one' - which may

(1) C.F. Jean, European Civilisation, I, 295. (The Ba bore 'the hieroglyphic of wind & breath & of life'.); Paton, 154f.

(2) E.R.E., V, 241b.

be a synonym for the Ka, or may represent the spirit which lives in heaven always. This seems to give a tripartite theory of the nature of man, but it may be that the Ka and the Khu are the same, and are the guardian spirit or genius of the man, while the Ba is his soul. If this is true- and it is disputed- the Egyptian theory of the soul is simple enough. It is the primitive one that the soul is the breath, or the shadow.(1)

The tomb- the 'eternal house' of the dead- was originally very simple, as we saw. It will not be necessary to trace the process by which the tomb grew into the pyramid, but there is a direct line between the goat-skin fastened with a bronze pin which covered the dead and the ^{million} $3\frac{1}{2}$ cubic yards of masonry of the Great Pyramid. Both were efforts to preserve the body which was felt to be necessary for continued life. 'The greatest witness ever given on earth to the human craving for immortality', says Baikie of the Great Pyramid,(2) and of them all Paton says-

"The pyramids of the Old Kingdom still stand in a line sixty miles long on the margin of the western desert as awe-inspiring as when they were first erected, the monuments of a titanic effort to conquer death by securing an eternal preservation of the body".(3)

These most stupendous of all tombs are simply, so far as architecture goes, 'an evolution of the primitive tumulus';(4) and the conception which animated the labour of so many people was a primitive one also. How primitive it is, is

(1) On these and the many other components of human nature, all, or nearly all of which are primitive guesses, combined as the Egyptians usually did, see H.D.B., v, 197; E.R.E., v, 241; European Civilisation, I, 295; Paton, 154-6; From Fetish to God, 327-338. (2) Century of Excavation &c., 56. (3) Spiritism, 186. (4) Ibid., 186.

seen from the fact that in certain tomb-chapels of the IIInd.Dynasty at Sakkarah lavatories are provided for the use of the dead occupant.'(1) The writer is very severe in his comment. 'This,' he says, 'is not speculation as to the nature of death, but mere inability to conceive of any form of existence other than physical life'. It is also very convincing evidence that the Egyptians thought of the after-life as an embodied one. Plainly, life in the tomb is a physical life, like this one, and to this belief is due that strange Egyptian practice, mummification'.

Drs. Elliot Smith and Perry would seem to reverse the process. They would derive the Egyptian ideas of immortality from mummification, and not vice versa. It seems that, when bodies are directly buried in the sands of Egypt, ~~dis~~^ussication often ensues, with the result that the body is preserved. When graves were disturbed- by jackals or in some such way- the intact bodies were revealed, and gave rise to the idea that the dead were alive in their graves. In consequence the dead came to be more carefully buried, in specially prepared tombs and coffins and so on. As preservation did not follow, since the sands were shut out, ways were evolved to bring about this result, and out of them came mummification. So, says Elliot Smith, 'there can be no doubt that this natural process of preservation (that is, ~~dis~~^ussication in sand) suggested to the Egyptians

(1) Cambridge Ancient History, I, 335.(H.R.Hall)

the concrete idea of the prolongation of existence after death'. This is, of course, suggesting how it may have happened, and then asserting that it did. Perry is more cautious. 'It was in connection with this practice (mummification) that the Egyptians developed their ideas of immortality, and thus started a train of thought the vast consequences of which it is impossible to estimate.'(1) In this, and other places in the same book, he seems carefully to avoid saying which came first, while leaving it to be inferred that mummification did. Now our survey of the prehistoric period has shown us that this belief is everywhere found with man, wherever we have any means of tracing belief at all, and this is as true for Egypt as for anywhere else. In the first graves there are no mummies, but there are evidences of the belief in survival. In Egypt, as elsewhere, belief in immortality grew out of primitive ideas, and this disposes of the other position of these writers, that the belief that man survives death spread out to the world from Egypt.

Yet in Egypt the new life is not a life following resurrection; it is the old life continued, and in the same body carefully preserved for the purpose. The mummy is as nearly as possible made eternal, and preserved in its eternal house as a home for the spirit, and as an alternative in case something goes wrong a portrait statue is provided,

(1) The quotation from Elliot Smith is from *In the Beginning*, 59. The whole chapter (chapter V, Mummies) gives the argument summarised above. See also *Diffusion of Culture*, 215-7. The quotation from Perry comes from *Growth of Civilisation*, 38. Cf. also 59. Petrie-E.R.E. v, 243b-4-quite definitely puts the system of mummifying after the views about the ba, ka, & Osirian or Ra company. It reversed the older ideas, he thinks.

which the dead can animate- an interesting primitive touch. Along with the mummy are endless amulets, or life-givers, and prominently the Eye of Horus,(1) with which he revived Osiris. Goods are to hand in abundance- the tomb of Tutankhamen is an extreme example (2)- and this led to extensive tomb-robbing, in spite of the fear of the dead. The attitude of the corpse was at first the flexed one; extended burial began in the IVth.Dynasty, but did not become common till the VIth..(3) It, Petrie says, is the natural and normal attitude of sleep in Egypt at the present day.(4)

With the lapse of the centuries the supplies of food and drink became offerings to the dead, and the shelf where the offerings were put became a temple, separated at last from the tomb, where the dead were worshipped almost as the gods were; for all Egyptians hoped to be gods after death.(5) With them the dead were not weak and strengthless shades, living a life that living men shrank from, but it was a full and powerful life for which every preparation must be made. So the tomb was made bright with pictures-which the appropriate magic formulae would make realities- of the life to come. That work might not disturb their dignified leisure, Ushabti figures, or 'answerers', often as many as four hundred of them, were provided, so that, as chapter VI

(1) Osiris & the Egyptian Resurrection, I, 82-8; A.M. Blackwood, in Myth & Ritual, 17. (2) Baikie, Century of Excavation &c. Chapter VII, 177-212. (3) G. Elliot Smith, The Ancient Egyptians, 171. (T.E. Peet, Cambridge Ancient History, I, 238ff., summarises explanations of the contracted attitude as follows-1-to save room in cemeteries. 2-natural position of rest & sleep. 3-limbs tightly bound to prevent dead harming living. 4-Most widely, posture is embryonic, i.e. that of foetus in womb.) (4) Religious Life in Ancient Egypt, 141. (5) European Civilisation, I, 1234.

of the Book of the Dead tells us, they might answer "Here am I!" whenever the dead man was called on for labour.(1) There can be little doubt that these, in a more merciful age, were substituted for the slaves and other human beings who used to be buried with the dead to share his immortality, and incidentally to see to his comfort in the other life. The so-called Book of the Dead, consisting of parts of the Pyramid Texts, the Coffin Texts, and other materials is 'a sort of guidebook to the underworld, and contained the charms that were necessary to bring one safely through the perils of that region'.(2) For men who knew little of the world in which they lived, had always plenty to say of the other world.

Perhaps sufficient has now been said to show how, out of the primitive beliefs with which they started, the Egyptians developed an elaborate cult of the dead, almost equalling the worship of the great gods themselves. They made a determined attempt to secure immortality, but the means by which it was sought were magical rather than religious. One new fact emerges, of which indeed a good deal is made in the historical religions, and so it is likely to have grown up in primitive times. It is that immortality may be the gift of one who has it already, like a god or a great man who has discovered the way to it. So Osiris and the Pharaoh could both show the way to continued life.

(1) Cambridge Ancient History, I, 321; Paton's Spiritism, 191f. (2) Ibid., 193.

Sufficient also has been said to show that the statement of Conybeare that 'the Christian belief in the resurrection of the flesh must have been formed to a large extent under Egyptian influence'(1) can hardly be true. There are similarities in each which are rooted in a common substratum of primitive belief.

Babylonia can boast a civilisation at least as old as that of Egypt. Certainly it cannot be said that either is the origin of the other, though naturally each has influenced the other. The people there seem much less concerned with the dead than the Egyptians, but they had their views about them, for they too believed in survival.

The first race of whom we have knowledge in Babylonia is the mysterious Sumerian one, which does not appear to have been Semitic. Their language became the 'Latin' or ecclesiastical language of the Semites who came later, and its persistence gives us access to their beliefs. The library of Assurbanipal of Assyria, (died 626 B.C.) has provided us with a good deal of Sumerian literature, so their beliefs are well-known. They seem, when they emerge into history, to have got beyond the idea of the dead man living in his grave, and even the further stage of the family grave, and to imagine the abode of the dead as a mighty realm under the rule of its own gods, situated somewhere under the earth, and called Aralu, a word of

(1) Encyclopaedia Britannica, (11th. Ed.) xi, 331b. (Art., Funeral Rites.)

unknown derivation. This conception seems to have been congenial to the invading Semites, since they took it over, name and all. The conception is practically that of the Sheol of the Hebrews, but it does not seem to have been known in all branches of the Semitic race, and therefore cannot have been primitive for the Semites.(1) It must be a later conception, possibly adopted from the Sumerians.

But that the primitive conception lay behind it is seen from the burials. The oldest ones are simple. The body was in the flexed attitude, lying on its right side, and wrapped in a reed mat. Ornaments, cylinder seals, copper mirrors, fish hooks,(?) jars of water and oil, lie to hand. There are also more elaborate burials in clay coffins.(2) Royal tombs were more elaborate still. Garrow Duncan thus describes burials of the kings of Ur from 3,500 B.C. on-

"A great pit was excavated and in that pit the royal tomb proper was built of limestone, which had been brought from some distance further north. Sometimes it consisted of one, and sometimes of two chambers. Here the body of the king was deposited with all his treasured belongings, as well as such furnishings as he was supposed to require in the other world. In the large pit around the built chamber lay the courtiers or victims who were either slain or voluntarily drank poison in honour of their king... In his tomb proper king Abargi had three persons, and in the outer pit sixty-two; while his Queen Shubad had twenty-five, making ninety people in all who perished in their honour. Another death-pit contained six men and sixty-eight women, the men by the door and the women neatly arranged along the sides of the pit.

Besides these people a king took with him many other valuable possessions. His harpist is found with her harp lying across her body. His ass-drawn chariot was

(1) Paton, 207. (2) S.H.Langdon, Cambridge Ancient History, I, 377; E.A.Wallis Budge, Babylonian Life & History, 181-3.

was there with the harnessed asses in position and the two grooms at their heads. His gaming-board, a chest of clothing, weapons, tools (some of them saws and daggers of solid gold), bowls of stone, vessels and cups of copper, gold and silver, and other treasures, are some of the equipment which the king took with him on his last journey at 3500 B.C....

The bodies lay composed, showing that after they had taken their places there had been no movement.(1)

Garrow Duncan thinks the Hebrew Sheol a reminiscence of this custom, but does not connect it with the Babylonian Aralu. The number of bodies and their immobility seems to fascinate him, and he offers various conjectures to account for these things. Perhaps I might venture another. It is that these died voluntarily with their king in the hope of sharing his immortality.

The family grave is also known, as is house-burial. In Ur houses sometimes under a private chapel was found the family burial vault, or if there was no chapel it might be under any room. In Babylonia too, the dead were 'gathered to their fathers'.(2) Single house burials are known as well.(3)

Later burials show the same features, and Delaporte tells us that 'food sacrifices were offered once a month to the departed, not so much to honour him as to avert his maleficence'.(4) The Sumerians and Babylonians seem to have been obsessed by the fear of unquiet spirits. So fed and honoured, the dead would perhaps stay quiet in their graves, but otherwise they would issue forth, to terrify

(1) New Light on Hebrew Origins, 52f. (2) Ibid., 68.; Budge, Babylonian Life and History, 182. (3) Garrow Duncan, Op. Cit., 68. (4) Mesopotamia, 170.

and to annoy the living. Babylonian demonology is quite as terrifying as Slavonic.(1) No good is to be expected from the dead, who by dying have come to hate and envy the living. So, if possible, they must be either placated or exorcised. Certain kinds of people were likely to make troublesome ghosts- the unmarried, whether men or women, women who died in childbed or who left nursing children behind them, or the unburied. These were specially to be feared.(2) For them neither libations nor food-offerings were made, and therefore they had to eat the vilest of food and drink the worst of drink, to their huge discontent. It was no wonder that such spirits should take vengeance on the living. The burial rites had their usual efficacy, and sent the dead to the company of the dead, to the 'land of No Return', though in spite of the name they could be conjured up by necromancers,(3) or in certain ways come to vex the living.

Aralu is called the land of No Return in the well-known Descent of Ishtar. Like the Egyptian underworld that land is far in the west, as the Gilgamesh Epic shows, and so one has to go down there as the heavenly bodies go. Ishtar seeks the abode of Ereshkigal, queen of the underworld, presumably to deliver Tammuz, her young husband or lover. It is a gloomy realm she enters-

"Where earth is their food, their nourishment clay.

(1) Cf. *The Vampire*, 217ff. (2) H.D.B.V, 576b. (Jastrow); Paton, 204, 206; L. Delaporte, *Mesopotamia*, 170. The last quotes: "He whose corpse lies in the fields, his shade rests not in the earth; he whose grave has no one to care for it, dish scourings, scraps from the gutter, he eats." from *Gilgamesh Epic*. (3) Paton, 231.

Light is not seen, in darkness they dwell,
Clothed as a bird, with wings as a covering.
On door and bolt the dust lies undisturbed."

Aralu was in seven divisions, each encircled with a wall pierced by a gate, and each gate had its porter. To reach the dread queen of the underworld all seven had to be passed. The porter, however, refused admission, and it was only when Ishtar threatened to burst in the gate and shatter the bolt, and bring up the dead to the living world again, that she was allowed to enter. Each porter, as she passed, deprived her of some part of her dress, so that at last she arrived in the presence of Ereshkigal naked. Once in her power the queen of the dead refused to let her go, and as a consequence fertility vanished from the earth. Misery ensued, and the gods demanded her return. She was sprinkled with the water of life, which is kept in Aralu, and she and her husband returned to the upper world.(1)

This is interesting for its description of a gloomy underworld, like the sheol of Job; for the conception of the water of life or of renewal; and for the threat of Ishtar to burst open the door and let the dead loose. It is evidently an early version of the 'Harrying of Hell' theme, and the story itself is obviously a myth dealing with the death and rebirth of the vegetation. But what is of special interest is the claim of Ishtar that the gods,

(1) For the story of the Descent of Ishtar see H.D.B., V, 575a.f.(M.Jastrow); E.R.E., II, 315b.(H.Zimmer); Budge, *Babylonian Life & History*, 138ff.; *Religion & the Future Life*, 101-4, edited by E.H.Sneath; Paton, 215-222.

if they will, can bring up the dead. There is the germ of a higher idea of immortality in that, an idea indicated in several other ways in Babylonian literature. Marduk, for example, is called the 'Quickener of the dead, a significant phrase.(1) Then, after all his troubles and travails, Ut-napishtim, the Babylonian Noah, was, with his wife, made like the gods, and at their command given immortality by the god Bel.(2) Then in the myth of Adapa we have what seems to be an attempt to explain why men die. Adapa, son of Ea, broke the wings of the South Wind, and was summoned before the gods. Warned by his father, who expects him to be offered the food and the water of death, against eating and drinking there, he refuses the food and the water of life when they are tendered to him, and so loses his chance of immortality. The purpose of the story, Jastrow thinks, is to explain how man, the offspring of the gods, does not share immortality, their distinguishing trait.(3)

The Babylonian view of the other life is gloomy in the extreme. Hope was centred upon this life, and the desire of all was a long and happy life here, and a postponement of the evil hour of death as long as possible. The after life was like this, only worse, was their conclusion, when they reflected on the primitive views with which they began. Yet the cases which we have considered- rare though they are- show that the Babylonians had the conception, the highest of all in its right setting, that immortality is the gift of God. ^{Lip.}

(1) Paton, 221. (2) Ibid., 219; H.D.B.V, 577a. (3) Ibid., 573b.f.; Babylonian Life & History, 95.

3- The Early Civilisations- II. (Indian and Chinese)

India has no history in the proper sense of the word- at least no ancient history- for such written documents as there are are late, and are not intended to be history.(1) Since 1924, however, we have become aware of an early civilisation in the Punjab, which seems to have had a connection with that of Babylonia.(2) Excavation shows several burial rites in use simultaneously, probably because the population was a mixed one. There is cremation with the ashes placed in an urn, burials where a few bones are gathered together, probably after exposure, and buried along with pottery, and ordinary burials. 'Fourteen complete skeletons accompanied by personal ornaments were found in one room at Mohenjo-daro, and six more in one of the lanes'.(3) Childe thinks this civilisation is already distinctively Indian,(4) yet it 'rests upon the same fundamental ideas, discoveries, and inventions', as the Egyptian and Sumerian cultures.(5)

(1) Ancient India, by P.Masson-Oursel, Helena de Willman-Grabowska, & Philippe Stern, 17. (2) Ibid., 18; New Light on the Most Ancient East, Chap. viii, 204-227, by V.Gordon Childe. (3) Ibid., 219. (4) Ibid., 220, 221. (5) Ibid., 224; see also Ancient India, 122.

In time the Indus civilisation seems to have been destroyed, possibly by the invading Aryans in the second millenium before Christ. The invaders are sometimes credited with introducing the practice of cremation, but as we have seen, that was known before their arrival. Certainly it is their usual mode of disposing of the dead, and is still the predominant one in India. 'At present it is only the most primitive non-Aryan tribes and some ascetic orders who still maintain the practice of earth-burial'.(1) That burial was the original practice even of the Aryans is maintained by Hillebrandt, and he gives some survivals which point to this.(2) The same writer tells us that cremation is regarded by the Hindus 'as an offering into the fire, conducting the corpse to heaven as a sacrificial gift'.(3) The statement is not of the clearest, but it may throw light upon it to quote Masson-Oursel: 'The food,' he says, 'offered to these dead (the "fathers") is thrown into the fire, and so comes to them'. Fire was the recognised way of conveying things to the dead, it seems.(4) It would be interesting, then, to find cremation regarded as a way of conveying bodies into the world of the dead. The Vedic view of the other life appears to support this. Masson-Oursel tells us: 'After life the dead were received into abodes which were too indeterminate to be called either heavens or hells'.(5) The latter certainly seem

(1) E.R.E., iv, 483b. (Crooke); (2) Ibid., 475b.-6a.

(3) 477b. (4) Ancient India, 67. (5) Ibid., 135.

vague enough,(1) but there is more to be said about the 'heaven in the sky presided over by Yama, the first of mortals to die, and by the god Varuna. In this new abode the dead man retains his full personal identity; his spirit is united with a body, a sublimated form of his earthly frame; and the future life is a glorified edition of the life on earth'.(2) Entrance to this heaven is granted to their worshippers by the free grace of the gods, rather than as a reward.(3) The grant, that is, is given not on ethical but on religious grounds, though the two are not in conflict. In its main outlines, then, the primitive belief can be seen behind this early Indian view, and the development seems to have taken the course which is usually taken. The dead are alive; they live in their graves; then they live in another world- this one is in the sky- the way to which was found, or opened up, by the first man who died; their life is an embodied one, and is a copy of this one, only, in this case better; finally this life is in the gift of God, or the gods.

This, of course, is the view of the Aryan invaders, but it no doubt acted upon the belief of the peoples whom the Aryans conquered, and vice versa. The views of the non-Aryan peoples were, and to a great extent remain, primitive enough.(4) Perhaps we may see also remnants of Sumerian belief in that fear of the malignant dead which Crooke sets

(1) E.R.E., xi, 843b. near foot of column. (A. Berriedale Keith)

(2) Ibid., 843b. top of column. (3) Ibid., about middle of column. (4) E.R.E., iv. 479b.-484. (W. Crooke) Art.-Death & Disposal of the Dead (Indian, non-Aryan).

out in such detail in his Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India.(1) Those who have died by an 'untimely or tragical death- those of the murdered, the unburied, the unmarried, childless women, robbers, men of evil life, and strangers,'(2)- this might quite well be a Babylonian list of troublesome ghosts.

It seems likely that the invading Aryans learned one conception at least from the peoples of the land- that of the Transmigration of Souls. It certainly does not appear in their earliest literature. Garbe gives two alternatives- either they learned it from the 'rude aboriginal inhabitants of the Indian peninsula', or else it 'had maintained its hold upon the lower strata of the Aryan people themselves from savage times'. The latter, he thinks, is the more probable.(3) Without doubt the conception is common among primitive peoples, as we have seen, and might quite easily come from either branch of the Indian peoples, but it seems to me that the former is on the whole more likely. Among the aboriginal inhabitants house-burial was common. We saw examples of it in the early civilisation at Mohenjo-daro, and Crooke tells us that 'examples of this practice are abundant' among non-Aryan races of India.(4) Now the usual reason for this- and Crooke points it out here- is the hope that the dead will be reincarnated in some woman of the family. Then too the primitive Aryans, whoever they

(1) See Chap.V- The Worship of the Malignant Dead, E.R.E.xi, 846b

(2) E.R.E.,iv,480b-481a.(Crooke) (3) E.R.E.,xii, 434b.

(4) E.R.E.,iv,482a.

were, seem to have been more concerned with ancestor worship and the cult of the dead than with this other development of the primitive animism.(1) On the face of it ancestor worship and transmigration do not go well together, for it would naturally be a matter of difficulty to say who were ancestors and who descendants. Both are found among Australian aborigines, but there ancestor worship is far from strong, and no attempt is made to reconcile the two. For these reasons, then, it seems to me that the original inhabitants are more likely to be the source of the belief in transmigration.(2) But, wherever it came from, it was taken over by the Aryans, and developed in a peculiarly thorough way which is not to be found elsewhere.

To begin with it was probably the ordinary belief, arising perhaps from family resemblances- especially to dead members- and the belief that the soul can animate other bodies, including those of animals and even inanimate things. Later this was developed into a system of rewards and punishments. Man by his deeds in this life fits himself for the next one. He may be reborn in the world of the gods, or of men, or of animals.(3) Happiness is always merited happiness, and misery deserved misery, for a man is getting the due reward of his deeds in the previous life: and to this there is no end, just as to it also there is no assignable beginning.(4)

(1) Ancient India, 123. (2) Masson-Oursel on the whole gives countenance to this position. Does the belief, he asks, come 'from some Malayo-Polynesian or Sumero-Dravidian myth? Possibly.' Ibid., 139. (3) The Transmigration of Souls, by D.A. Bertholet, 69. (4) E.R.E., xii, 435a.

So transmigration becomes a process of retribution, and an endless one. Once we grant the premisses, there is something natural and inevitable in the thought, and something overpowering too. Natural conditions pre-disposed the Indian peoples to pessimism,(1) and this conception, with its continual flux of births and deaths, deepened it. But the pessimism is not absolute; all the philosophies and religions of India have their salvation to offer, their way of escape from endless rebirth.(2) We need not follow out the details, for the conception of transmigration had little or no influence on Christian belief. In all these Indian systems personal survival, which they all took for granted, is not by any means to be desired, while to the Buddha it was a curse from which he offered release to men. All rebirth was due to desire- this was the great illumination- and salvation consists in the extinction of desire and therefore of existence. For Buddhism there is not properly any soul at all, nor even its transmigration, but an endless flux, a stream of existences,(3) wherein persist the merits and demerits of former existences. But the worship of the Buddha himself, and the birth-stories in which tales are told of his former existences, and the memories which some profess to have of previous lives, show that to all intents and purposes there is the equivalent of what other peoples regard as the soul. Whether, however, salvation is found in the extinction of desire,

(1) Ancient India, xix, xxi, 139. (2) Life Beyond Death, 126. (3) Ancient India, 139; E.R.E., xii, 429a. (M. Anesaki)

'the passionless peace of Nirvana', with Buddhism, or with the Vedanta philosophy in union with the unchanging Absolute, or, in present day Hinduism, in warm devotion to a saviour god, it is not personality which is sought. That involves for them the 'round of rebirth'. It is absorption in the divine which is sought; though popularly "deliverance from

transmigration is promised in the form of a welcome into some blessed paradise from which there is no return to earthly life- like the pure land of the Buddha Amitabha or the heaven of Indra.(1)

So India has shown us, and it is an interesting point, what the conception of the transmigration of souls leads to when it is worked out to the full. It introduces ethical considerations; and by pessimism it provokes a reaction which leads, at highest, to the idea of union, even though unconscious union, with the divine, and for ordinary people, that idea of a happy heaven which others have reached by different roads.(2)

In China Reinach finds the spirit of rationalism strongly developed.(3) De Groot finds in it a strong 'spirit of conservatism'. This, he says, "is now proverbial, and scarcely

ever allows the nation to drop a custom bequeathed to it by former generations. Many rites and practices still flourish among the Chinese, which one would scarcely expect to find anywhere except among savages in a low state of culture".(4)

Both spirits have certainly come into play, for during their long history the Chinese have preserved more completely than any other civilised people a primitive attitude to the

(1) Life Beyond Death, 128. The previous sentences are condensed from this and the previous pages. (2) See And the Life Everlasting, by John Baillie, 118. (3) S. Reinach, Orpheus, 158f. (4) J. J. M. de Groot, The Religious System of China, I, xi. (preface)

dead, and with innate rationalism, have elaborated it into the main religion of the people. For, whichever of the three great religions of China is professed by the worshipper,(1) the real religion and the core of all is ancestor worship.

After a death the first endeavour of the funeral rites is to recall the soul, for that the soul can go out from the body in sleep, swoon, or death, is as firmly held by the Chinese as by any primitive people. In the case of a swoon the first restorative is to mount the roof with a white cloth on a bamboo pole, which is energetically waved, while a gong is beaten to give the spirit its bearings.(2) So after death comes the death-wail, which is designed to recall the soul if that is possible.(3) Then, when the body is put into the coffin, the soul tablet, in which the soul is supposed now to be resident, is put on the breast of the corpse, and the eldest son, kneeling by the side of the coffin, appeals to his father (or mother) to stand up. When this is unavailing the coffin is closed, bystanders carefully standing back in case their shadow should be shut up with the dead, with disastrous consequences to them.(4) All the time food has been lying beside the body in case revival should come, and that the weak and unprotected soul may not come to ill, divested as it is of the familiar body, it is induced to enter a soul tablet- the one we have just

(1) I.e.-Confucianism, Taoism, or Buddhism. (2) Paton, 17f. (derived from de Groot) (3) De Groot, I, 11. (4) Ibid., 94.

seen deposited on the breast of the corpse. This is a temporary expedient- an artificial body for the soul.(1) A body, or something which will do as one, is of importance to the Chinese. In the precautions taken to prevent the corpse becoming a vampire- the so-called Kiang-si, or corpse that will not decay- may be seen traces of the time when body and soul were not distinguished. The Kiang-si is a living corpse like the vampire, with long nails and covered with long white hair, and it can empty its prey of blood in a few seconds. This dread change is accomplished by allowing rays of the sun or moon to enter the coffin, for, these being 'light, fire, warmth, yang in short, are identified with life.(2)

So closely was the soul identified with the body that injuries to the body, especially just before death, were inflicted also on the soul.(3) So beheading was a death most dreaded, for it meant a headless soul in the after life. A destroyed body, one for example, which was slowly cut up, or one that had been burned, could not be a residence for the soul, and consequently the Chinese dreaded cremation and never practised it.(4)

The grave is the dwelling place of the dead, as with all primitive peoples.(5) Members of the same family are interred together in the family grave, and even to-day Chinese who die in far lands like America are sent home for burial.

(1) De Groot, 71. (2) Ibid., 106f. (3) Paton, 32 & 35.
(4) Paton, 35. (5) Paton, 36.

Where this could not be done their souls were conveyed into soul tablets and buried in the family grave.(1)

Goods and grave-offerings were once provided in great quantity, but the Chinese have discovered in the course of time a better way. Models, usually in paper, of the various things necessary are provided, and an immense quantity of paper money. All this is burned during the funerary rites, and the ashes buried in the grave with the coffin. It is only the ghostly counterpart which can be of use in spiritland, and the fire conveys it there. De Groot regards the mourning customs as having arisen from the practice of giving the deceased all his property. In the earliest times we know of the living left the house at a death and dwelt in sheds; their clothing was coarse and scanty, and they ate little and only of the commonest food. That was all that was left for them when the property was abandoned to the dead. Later came the policy of cheap substitutes, but that religious conservatism which always comes into play in regard to death customs, perpetuated this way of expressing grief. There are of course, other explanations of such customs, but this one may quite well be true for China.(2)

The dead man is buried in his winter suit, and since nearly every ~~Chinese~~ who can afford it, buys an official

(1) Paton, 37, from de Groot. (2) Paton, 50f.

degree, and is entitled to wear the badge of it on his outer cloak, that also goes with him into the coffin; for it holds in the other world also, and is a sign to the other spirits of his rank. A full length portrait of the deceased is got as a seat for the soul, and if it comes in time is hung above the coffin, obviously to facilitate the transfer.(1) In addition to this there is a permanent soul tablet, which is placed upon the coffin when it stands in the grave, to give the soul the opportunity of transfer once more. This then becomes the permanent home of the soul, and is brought home to receive its due honour with the other ancestral tablets, while the temporary one is put in its place and buried with the coffin. The anxiety that the soul 'may not be found naked', as Paul puts it,(2) is plain.

Notice must be taken also of the Chinese custom of placing in the mouth of the dead substances 'supposed to be imbued with vital energy derived from the great element yang, and therefore deemed able to facilitate revival, and at the same time to retard decomposition, so that the soul on returning might at any time find its flesh and blood in a state fit for re-occupation'.(3) Jade is one, and gold is another. These were the most precious substances known to the Chinese, and provide another example of Dr. Perry's 'givers of life'. 'He who swallows gold will last as long as gold, he who swallows jade will exist as long as jade'.(4)

(1) De Groot, 113. (2) IICor.V,3. (3) De Groot,Part II,269.
(4) Ibid., 273.

These, and especially jade, are identified with the heavens, 'the depository of all life in nature', and so they 'naturally endow with vitality all persons who swallow them, in other words they intensify their soul, or shen, which is, like the heavens, composed of yang matter; and they hold at a distance from the dead corruption and decay, thus furthering their return to life'.(1) Cowries also were put in the mouths of the dead.(2) These, from their shape, are well-known 'givers of life', but since they are also ancient currency, the idea of paying their way in the other world, as with Greeks, Romans, and Hindus, may enter here.(3) Later silver and coins were substituted, when these replaced cowries as currency, which seems to favour the latter idea, but pearls, which also were placed in the mouths of the dead, are 'givers of life' pure and simple.(4)

Meanwhile the souls of the dead lived on in the ancestral tablets, and each family worshipped its own dead and sought their protection, for, whichever religion is professed- except of course Christianity- ancestor worship was and is the effective religion of the Chinese. All events of importance- births, marriages, deaths, journeys and returns, and so on- are announced at the family altar, that the dead may be informed of them as well as the living. There too, at stated times, sacrifices were offered, as well as at the grave.(5) Offerings of such things as the dead

(1) Ibid., 270. (2) Ibid., 275. (3) Ibid., 278. (4) Ibid., 277.
(5) Paton, 51.

need were made by the appropriate person, the son of the deceased; and so, if the sacrifices were to be perpetuated, it was necessary that the family should continue, which is the great reason for the Chinese love of children. The sacrifices have become feasts of the dead, family reunions where living and dead meet together and share the good things provided. Even the unfriended dead are not forgotten, for 'on the fifteenth day of the seventh moon a sort of All Souls' Day was observed for the benefit of "hungry ghosts" who had no relatives to provide for them.' True this was to appease them and keep them quiet, but no doubt kindly thoughts mingled also in the observance.(1)

To the Chinese then, the dead are alive, and not far away, for they can tell them things, and share things with them, and live under their fostering care. True, they are dependent on the living, but then the living also are dependent on the dead. They are one family still, and the family must stick together. The after life too, is no shadow of real living; it is true, full, and vital life. As a rule too, it is life in the upper world, only those being excluded who have failed in their duty here, or 'have left no posterity, or have been forgotten by their remote descendents'.(2) And life is like life here, for the Emperor is an Emperor still, the judge a judge still, and so on. Emperors, as 'Sons of Heaven', assist God in His providential government of the world; ordinary people serve

(1) Paton, 55. (2) W.G.Walshe, E.R.E.,iii,729a.(Art.-Communion with the Dead- Chinese).

God too, mainly by supervising their descendants on earth. Ancestral spirits rank next to the Supreme Being, and are above those spirits which preside over nature.(1)

Their life too is an embodied one; the Chinese are careful to see to that, with the many artificial bodies which they provide for the soul. The soul may go out from these on its own occasions, as sometimes in life, but these are the home to which it returns, and to the body in the grave as well. Chinese history tells of the opening of a tomb, and the flogging of an Emperor's body for an injury wrought in life; of the custom of introducing a ruler's posthumous son at the coffin; and of the custom of causing each Emperor to ascend the throne in the presence of his encoffined predecessor.(2) Even yet the moderns entomb the soul banner and the temporary soul tablet with the coffin, showing cohabitation of body and soul. Discarded the body might be, but not forgotten.(3) For the Chinese never gave up hope of resurrection. Till interment they did what they could to recall the soul, and after that made provision by food and otherwise, in case it happened even then. The very coffin had to be of wood like pine or cypress, full of vitality, itself durable, and coming from an evergreen tree.(4) Anything which led to the speedy destruction of the body-cremation, water-burial, exposure to air- was avoided.

"So," says de Groot, "the Chinese are strict adherents to the doctrine of Democritus, who preached against the burning of the dead, saying they must be buried in expectation of a resurrection which he predicted for everyone".(5)

(1) E.R.E.,iii,729b.The whole of the preceding paragraph is founded on E.R.E.,iii,728a-9b.(2) de Groot, 349 & 353. (3) Ibid.,348. (4) Ibid.,295.(5) Ibid.,280.(From Pliny,Nat.Hist. Bk.7, Chap.55).

4- Hellene and Hebrew.

In Greece there lies, behind the Hellenic Civilisation, which is the fine flower of the culture of the ancient world, the very old civilisation of Crete and the Aegean. The discovery of it has been one of the romances of our time, though the Greeks never entirely forgot it, and took over from the people they conquered, many of the elements of the civilisation they destroyed. So far as we know this culture began with a neolithic phase, and had connections with Egypt which seem sometimes to have been intimate, though Egypt cannot be said by any means to be its cradle.(1)

That belief, which, as we have seen, Nilsson considers to be the oldest of all, namely, that the dead are alive in their tombs, was held by the Cretans and by the later Greeks also. Indeed, worship of the dead, which goes more than a stage further, since it adds an assumption about the life of the dead, 'extends from Aegean times into Classical times'.(2) That there was a cult of the dead in Minoan times is certain, Nilsson says. He thinks it can

(1) See *The Aegean Civilisation*, by G.Glotz; *The Minoan-Mycenean Religion & its Survival in Greek Religion*, by M.P.Nilsson. (Especially Glotz, 389-395, 202-212, 1-55) See also *Orpheus*, 80-3, &c. (2) *European Civilisation*, I, 1035ff.

be assumed on general grounds; is supported by the funeral customs, on which so much of our knowledge of this civilisation depends, and especially by the well-known sarcophagus of Hagia Triada.(1) This, as against others like Petersen and Miss Harrison, who interpret the scenes on it as representing the death, resurrection, and new birth of nature,(2) he regards as referring to the dead man who occupies it.

'The scenes are scenes on a sarcophagus, hence most scholars take the natural view that they refer to the dead man, his cult, and the after life.'(3) 'The dead man,' he thinks, 'was deified, and so worshipped under the forms of the divine cult'.(4)

The cult of heroes he discusses also as found in both. First, as Farnell shows, comes 'tendance' of the dead, then a cult of the dead, then the cult of ancestors, which "is

the service of the dead moulded into regular and fixed forms, and repeated at fixed intervals; it is performed by members of the family and prolonged for generations. When such a regular cult of the dead is severed from the family and becomes a concern of the public in general, a hero cult arises".(5)

Such a cult comes about when the memory of a dead man persists among the people, and causes them to venerate him at his tomb. If he is right in his interpretation of the Hagia Triada sarcophagus, such were the priest kings, thinks Nilsson.(6) Discussing the 'tholoi' or beehive tombs of Crete, Glotz shows that these were family or rather clan tombs.(7) When the social system which gave rise to them

(1) Minoan-Mycenean Religion &c. 368ff. See also Glotz, 275f., Crete the Forerunner of Greece, by C.H. & H.B. Hawes, 90f.
(2) Minoan-Mycenean Religion, 372. (3) Ibid., 373. (4) Ibid., 378ff. (5) Ibid., 515f. (Quotation is from P. 516f.). See too Nilsson's History of Greek Religion, 36. (6) Minoan-Mycenean Religion, 537. (7) Aegean Civilisation, 134-7, 280f.

disappeared they fell into disuse, "yet the more powerful

families did not cease in the course of the ages to consolidate and repair the monuments to which their traditions and their claims to nobility were^{bound}, and thus the most distinguished 'tholoi' have come down to us in what may be called their secondary state. They were perpetuated as 'heroa' glorified by ancient lines. Long afterwards, -such was the respect inspired by the sacred circles, haunted by the shades of ancestors!- when a great king or illustrious personage was buried it was deemed a fitting tribute to raise above his remains a dome which rendered them sacred."(1)

As a rule the Aegean peoples buried their dead. Cremation came in with the Dorians.(2) There is an 'extraordinary

variety of sepulchres', but in all 'the dominant idea is always that of making life easier for the dead man'.(3)

The graves are oriented; generally the dead man looks towards the east or the sea.(4) Everything he needs, down to a lamp and a brazier, is provided, and at intervals the family bring gifts of food and drink. For companions and servants figurines are provided- substitutes for the human beings who once were slain, and who even yet are sometimes found. The next life is plainly to be one like this, for razors and mirrors are not forgotten, nor the board and pieces for the games; and because the great goddess was worshipped even in the underworld, there were also 'objects for religious rites'.(5) The poor made what provision they could, while chieftains and kings lay down in the grave with their wealth about them; and 'from his tomb the king will still watch over his people with a power greater than ever.'(6)

(1) Aegean Civilisation, 136f. (2) Ibid., 277f., 389. See too Cambridge Ancient History, II, 466. (Wace) (3) Aegean Civilisation, 284. (4) Ibid., 285. (5) Ibid., 285-7. (6) Ibid., 288.

The burial customs of the Minoans show trace of the primitive belief in the grave as the eternal house of the dead, but the custom of orientation perhaps gives us a hint of a land of the dead somewhere beyond the seas. Nilsson thinks they had arrived at that conception. But they did not imagine the after life as like this only worse; they thought of it as better. In other words, he takes Hades to be the Greek conception of the after life, brought with them, and not adopted from the Minoans. This seems likely enough, when we remember the intimate contact of the Aegean with Egypt. The hope of the Egyptian was a blessed after life in the kingdom of Ra, and traces of something like this are to be found in Greek legend. Menelaos gains immortality because he is husband of Helen and therefore son-in-law of Zeus himself; Tithonos because he is husband of Aurora; Heracles because he merits it; while Calypso offers it as a bribe to Odysseus to induce him to stay with her in her sea-girt isle. Immortality is a perquisite of the gods, and when people come into intimate relations with the gods then immortality can be conferred on them too. Now the gods live a life pretty much like that of men, only better, since the disadvantages of ordinary life are absent, and especially the great disadvantage of death. They are the deathless gods, and deathlessness passes also to those who, like Heracles, win their way into their company, or are adopted into it. This conception- in effect the Greek Elysium- came to the Minoans from Egypt, and from them to the Greeks.

The conception of the Elysian Fields, or the 'Islands of the Blest', far away to the west, is certainly difficult to reconcile with the Hades idea. Then Rhadamanthys, represented in the *Odyssey* (IV, 564) as dwelling in the Elysian plain and at the world's end- to which Menelaos is to go- is of Cretan origin. The idea is that of a seafaring people, such as the Minoans were; while the H. Triada sarcophagus shows the divinisation of a dead man- an Egyptian as well as a Minoan conception.(1) I do not think it is easy to avoid Nilsson's conclusion, that the Minoans had a view of the after life both richer and fuller than that of the Homeric Hades, especially since he- and others- see behind Orphism and the Eleusinian mysteries, the agents of a worthier idea of immortality for later days, a Minoan-Mycenean origin.(2) In these ways then, and no doubt in others difficult to trace, we get Aegean views- which are substantially the primitive views- surviving into Greek religion. It may be worth while too at this point to anticipate and say that in main outline this Aegean view of the after life is the life which later the Mystery Religions offer to their devotees. Initiation assimilates them to the god; we might almost adapt the words of John and say it gives them 'power' to become sons of the god, and so to share in his immortality.

In contrast to what seems to have been the view of the

(1) Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenean Religion*, 539-545, on which the whole of the paragraph is founded. See also *History Of Greek Religion*, 23; E. Rohde, *Psyche*, 55-61.

(2) *Minoan-Mycenean Religion*, 545; *E.R.E.*, vi, 402b-3a; 409a, (Farnell); ix, 77b-8a, (P. Gardner); J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Chap. ix. esp. 459. See also 564.

Aegean peoples is that view of Hades which is most clearly set forth by Homer. The other life is empty, negative; and the land of the dead is a 'land of pale and powerless shadows'. In other words this life is the real life, and the other life is only a pale shadow of it. Other examples of the same thing are the Aralu of the Babylonians and the Sheol of the Hebrews. It is a conception which Homer is not in the least likely to have invented, though he did a great deal to make it what might almost be called the official, or the standard, Greek conception. From Homer it passed into Virgil, and so affected the thought of the Roman Empire. It is also, says Nilsson, still the popular Greek conception of the other world, in spite of the fact that "the strongest religious movements from Orphism to Syncretism and Christianity have preached quite dissimilar conceptions of the after life." (1)

It must be the "natural result" then, of the Greek character, for "it is rare to find a religious belief of this order defying the changes of time and religion, and this seems a very strong argument for assuming that Hades is the original Greek conception of the after life, although it may have been strengthened and developed through the influence of Homer". (1)

Whether Homer inherited or adopted or even, unlikely though it is, invented the view, certain it is that his use of it represents a break between past and future. For Rohde, as indeed for most writers on the subject-including Nilsson himself (2)- the Homeric view of Hades is 'different from

(1) Minoan-Mycenean Religion, 540.

(2) History of Greek Religion, 135- "Homer represents not a leap but a break".

what came before, and certainly from what came after'.(1) No ghost walks in Homer, except the pathetic shade of Patroklos, who wishes his 'meed of fire' that he may go to his own place from which he shall not return,(2) and it is in a dream that he comes. The dead who flock round the blood in the trench over which Odysseus stands with his drawn sword, are at the 'limits of the world', and come 'out of Erebus'.(3) Homer's world is a daylight world.(4) In it the cult of the dead is lacking. "Man in Homer has liberated himself from the fear of the dead but not from the fear of death".(5) Necromancy is unknown to the poet, and oracles of the dead, though both are common later.(6) On the other hand, Halliday is sure that he knows of the existence of both.-

"In spite of this picture of ghostly nonentity, it can hardly be doubted that the poet had visited the mantic shrine of a hero, for the rites of invocation which he describes cannot be imaginary, but are clearly based upon the observation of an actual cult. Perhaps the most probable explanation is that cults of the dead existed continuously from Mycenaean times, but that such practices were originally alien to the Northerners, and were only gradually adopted by them".(7)

It can hardly be doubted that this is right, and that there are other beliefs about the dead which Homer studiously ignores, or only introduces unawares or when he cannot help it. Perhaps he looked upon them as the superstitions of a conquered race, or from the height of his obvious delight in the race of bright Olympian gods he may have

(1) Psyche, 24. (2) Iliad, xxiii, 75. (3) Odyssey, Butcher & Lang's Translation, 172f. (4) Psyche, 9. (5) Nilsson, History of Greek Religion, 142. (6) Psyche, 24. (7) W.R.Halliday, Cambridge Ancient History, II, 628.

looked down upon them as forms of a low and unclean and unworthy religion. 'It is Hellas against the brute world'.(1) Besides, cremation had made a difference. Cremation is one of the Homeric problems. His Achaeans always cremated their dead, but in the Mycenaean Kingdoms, which archaeology reveals as corresponding to the Achaeans, burial is the rule, while even after the Dorians, as we have seen, introduced cremation, it was never the sole method of disposal of the dead.(2) Time and fuller knowledge will no doubt solve the problem, but there can be little doubt, on any explanation of the facts, that cremation had a great importance for the mind of Homer. By the time of the composing of the epics it was the common mode in the Greek world. Whether to begin with it was adopted by the Dorians as a reaction against the weight of the cult of the dead, or forced on them by circumstances, or adopted from others, of the significance it had for Homer there can be little doubt. It freed men from the great fear of primitive man- the fear of the dead. When the dead man received his 'meed of fire' his soul went to the far House of Hades, and returned no more; and even if he did return what could he do? His body was destroyed; he was one of the 'phantoms of men outworn', one of the 'strengthless heads of the dead'. For 'immortality (for Homer and the Greeks generally) consists just in exemption from the separation of soul and

(1) Gilbert Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion*, 61 & note. On this chapter-*The Olympian Conquest*- a good part of the argument is based. (2) A.W.Gomme in *European Civilisation*, I, 995, 997, & note; *Aegean Civilisation*, 277f., 389; *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, 466 (Wace); *E.R.E.*, xi, 738a & b, (Art.-Soul (Greek) by John Burnet).

body'.(1) For man then there was only ghostly survival in the House of Hades. A shadowy counterpart of man, with little or no consciousness, survived him, but true immortality- immortality, if we may put it so, on the primitive model- existed for him in his deities made in the image of man, the deathless gods. 'A god, for a Greek is an "animal"(zōon) and has a body' (1), or, as Farnell puts it in words more befitting the Olympians, the Homeric gods are 'not spirits but immortal beings of superhuman substance and soul, conceived in the glorified image of man'.(2) So, even for Homer, the after life at its most intense and truest is an embodied one.

Behind Homer then, there are totally different views about the dead which he opposes in the interests of a higher view of religion, that bright and appealing view of the Olympians which he enforces on men with all the magic art of a great poet. But the ideas were there before him, and existed after him. Indeed some of them exist still. Popular belief probably remained pretty much what it had always been, as certain matters of belief and ritual, later in being mentioned but obviously more primitive, let us see. For example, heroes still were worshipped, and at their graves. Pausanias gives us an instance, as late as the time of Hadrian, of a hero shrine into which the blood of the sacrifice is poured.(3)

(1) E.R.E., xi, 739a. (Burnet) (2) E.R.E., vi, 394b. (Art. Greek Religion) (3) Quoted in Primitive Culture in Greece, 103. (H.J. Rose).

It is from his grave that the hero works, for there his bones rest, and 'his power is bound up with his physical remains'.(1) That is primitive enough. In Athens as a rule burial prevailed, and 'the mortuary cult implied that the souls were in the grave with the body'.(2) Then there is the Anthesteria, when the dead, summoned from their tombs, returned each to his home. There he was welcomed, feasted and entertained, and on the third day dismissed with the formula- "Out with you, souls,(kēres) Anthesteria is over!"(3) This may later have become a matter of form, but it implies that at one time the gates of Hades were not so fast shut as Homer represented them to be. The dead were near, and held communion with men.

The subsequent development of Greek belief in the after life may be described largely as a reaction from Homer, or as the re-emergence of the earlier view in a higher form. The Eleusinian Mysteries, originating probably in a local cult of Demeter were opened to Athenians and then to all men of Greek race, and must have done much to quicken a hope of personal immortality. The initiates, after rites of purification, saw enacted before them the myth of the Corn Mother, Demeter, seeking her lost daughter, Persephone, in the House of Hades. From it both emerged, the latter however, to return for four months of the year and reign as queen of the dead. It is a vegetation myth of the

(1) Nilsson, History of Greek Religion, 104.(2) E.R.E., xi, 739b.(Burnet) (3) Golden Bough, ix, 152ff.(Many references are given in the note on p.153); See also Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, Chap.II, esp.pp.32-49.

familiar kind, but in seeing it enacted, and in handling the 'sacra' shown to them, the initiates seem to have experienced a glow of religious emotion, and felt themselves in communion with the goddess who had overcome death.(1)

A new religious experience- again, and more definitely, of union with a god- was behind the hope of immortality brought by that Dionysiac cult which spread through Greece in the 7th. and 6th. centuries before Christ. Here, in an induced ecstasy, the worshipper went out of himself and became one with the god. Since, as Homer had taught, immortality belongs to the gods, it naturally followed that a sharer of the divine nature was having experience of his own immortality. He was of necessity akin to the divine. A more refined form of Dionysos worship came with the Orphic religion. In many parts of Greece there grew up religious associations professing themselves followers of Orpheus the poet, who had descended to Hades in quest of his wife and returned again to the upper air. These provided the Dionysiac cult with a theology. They told the myth of Dionysos rent in pieces by the Titans and devoured, but coming to life again by the aid of Zeus and Athene. Here is another element; this god is not immortal, for he dies, but he is better from man's point of view, he is a conqueror of death. Man becomes one with him in this experience also. He will die, but by favour of the god he will survive death and come to life again; immortality will come to him by the overcoming of death, as it did to

(1) A. Fairbanks, Religion & the Future Life, 183- 5; see also Life Beyond Death, 114f.

the god. Along with this went a new conception of the nature of man, also embodied in the myth. The Titans were consumed by the thunderbolt of Zeus, and from their ashes, in which was also the substance of Dionysos whom they had devoured, man was formed. So from the beginning Heaven and Earth mingled in him. 'Say', says the Petelia tablet, found buried with an initiate, "I am a child of Earth and of Starry Heaven, but my race is of Heaven (alone)"¹ It may be of the 4th. century, or even earlier.⁽¹⁾ So the soul is not negligible, even pitiable, as in Homer; on the contrary, it is divine, and so immortal, while the body is its prison house. Adopting the belief in transmigration from some unknown quarter, the Orphics consigned the unworthy to a round of deaths and rebirths. Purified in time, they rise to blessedness at last; but to the devout the way is shorter. 'Purified by the proper rites', they escape the 'wheel of birth', and 'pass at once to a life of blessedness'.⁽²⁾

It is Plato who completes the development, though his position is reached by reason and not by religious experience. Socrates taught that the soul was the true self, and his disciple followed him in this. To Plato the soul is indestructible, and therefore immortal. But the soul is the true self; it then, and no ghostly double, is what survives, and for ever, while the body is discarded. Homer has left the primitive behind when he slights the soul, Plato when he disowns the body.

The foregoing argument is founded on E.R.E., vi, Greek Religion, xi, Soul (Greek) & Life Beyond Death, Chap. xv. &c.
(1) Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, 659f.
(2) Life Beyond Death, 110.

The Hebrew view of the future life is naturally more directly behind Christian teaching on immortality than any other. The Greek view had its influence, as we have come to see, but Christianity is the daughter of Judaism, that form of the religion of Israel which developed after the Exile.(1) It will be instructive, then, to place the Hebrew view alongside the Greek one, for there is an interesting parallel, with some noteworthy differences.

The Hebrews felt death to require explaining, for they have a narrative to explain it. However we explain the story in Genesis 3 no one doubts one thing, and that is that it is meant to show how death came into the world. This at once connects the Hebrews with a host of primitive peoples, who, as we saw, felt death unnatural and an intrusion. In a world where all die death is not taken for granted, like any other necessity of human life. Later, some people may take it fatalistically, as something which comes to everyone, but to the Hebrews and others it simply shouldn't be there, and would not be if all had gone right.(2) The story in its early form is primitive enough- if we can accept the common reconstruction of it- but it has been a good deal worked over by later hands, with the purpose, as it seems, of adapting it to the worship of Jahveh, but even in its latest form it is given as an explanation of the fact of death.(3)

(1) Jew & Greek, by G.H.C. MacGregor & A.C. Purdy, 43, 193ff.

(2) Immortality & the Unseen World, 190-201; Frazer, Folk-Lore in the Old Testament, 45-77; Peake's Commentary, 138a- 139.

(3) Immortality & the Unseen World, by W.O.E. Oesterley, 200f.

At first sight it appears as if the Old Testament, at any rate until after the Exile, had little or nothing to say about personal survival. There are two reasons for this--that the records are far more interested in the nation than in the individual; and that in the interests of the worship of Jahveh a great deal has been suppressed or eliminated because of its connection with the cult of the dead.(1) It is usually assumed that the early beliefs of the Hebrews were like those of their Semitic kindred. Like them they passed through a primitive period, of which traces are to be found in later days. Much work has been done on the subject in our own days, and Lods, who has himself been an assiduous worker in this field,(2) calls the following 'well grounded results'. The Hebrews in the remote past had a cult of the dead, and especially of their ancestors. The Israelites up to the Exile believed in the survival of the individual after death. The dead, before the advent of Jahvism, and even after it, were regarded as beings endowed with superhuman power and knowledge. On one occasion, if not more, the word 'elohim' is used.(3) This seems to indicate that belief followed pretty much the same course as among many other peoples. The dead were not negligible, they were important.

The Hebrews, like other peoples, believed that within the human body there was a 'double', Lods shows, and this

(1) See, for example, Max Loehr, *History of Religion in the O.T.*, 24, 41; *Life Beyond Death*, 135f.&c. (2) A. Lods, *Israel*, 219-230, which is practically a summary of his well-known *La Croyance à la Vie Future et le Culte des Morts dans l'Antiquité Israelite*. (3) I Sam. xxviii, 13.; R.H. Charles, in *His Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life* thinks it is used in this sense in Exodus xxi, 6 also. See pp. 22f.

they called 'nephesh' and in some cases 'ruach', and identified it with the breath, or perhaps 'localised' it in the breath. It was 'localised' also in the blood, for an obvious reason, as we have seen already. A passage like Dt.xii,23, shows this clearly- "Only be sure that thou eat not the

blood: for the blood is the life, and thou shalt not eat the life with the flesh."

For 'life' Lods puts 'soul'(1) as indeed Moffatt does too in translating the verse. The reference here is to an animal, but it holds also in regard to man. There can be little doubt then, that the Hebrews held the view of a soul or living entity of some kind which survived death, as indeed did all primitive peoples. How naively the belief was held is shown in Num.XIX,15, where after a death in a tent, any vessel with a lid not bound down was unclean. Loehr explains this as due to the fear that the spirit of the dead might be hiding in the vessel.(2) But the point is not one that needs labouring. It is usually conceded that the early Hebrews believed that man had a soul, and that it survived death.(3)

Then the dead were no feeble folk; that they were was held later, but it is not the early belief.(4) Charles and Lods both show this by dwelling on the elaborate mourning customs of the Hebrews.(5) These show a deep sense of the power of the dead and of reverence for them, as well as a sense of dependence upon them. If the

(1) Lods, *La Croyance* &c. I, Part 1, Chap. 3. (2) *History of Religion in the O.T.*, 25 (But cf. Kennedy in *Cent. B.*, 299, & Binns in *West. Comm.* 129) (3) Charles, *Critical History* &c. 39-41; *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, (E.Bi.) II, 1339.(12); *La Croyance*, I, part 1, Chaps. 1-3. (4) E.Bi. II, 1340.(16)
(5) *Ibid.*, 1336f.; *La Croyance*, I, Part 2, Chaps. 1 & 2.

teraphim were household gods, as seems likely,(1) then we have evidence of a cult, and even, as we have seen, of the name for god applied to one of the dead. Male offspring was sought because such alone could carry on the family worship;(2) and this necessity also is behind the levirate law.(3) In the same direction too, points the stress laid upon burial, for at the grave the offerings were made,(4) and the family grave was the place for burial, for there a man was 'gathered to his fathers' or 'to his people'.(5) In this connection Loehr asks regarding the statement in Dt.xxxiv,6 that no one knows the grave of Moses till this day, 'has the possibility of any sort of worship of the dead been consciously excised here?'(6) Sometimes the grave is in the house, as in the case of Samuel,(1S.xxv,1) and Joab.(1K.ii,34) In short, as Charles sums up-

"The departed possessed a certain degree of self-consciousness and the power of speech and movement;(Is.xiv) a large measure of knowledge, hence their name 'the knowing ones'(Lev.xix,31,xx,6;Is.xix,3); acquaintance with the affairs of their living descendants, and a keen interest in their fortunes- thus Rachel mourns from her grave for her captive children (Jer.xxxi,15); ability to forecast the future, hence they were consulted by the living regarding it(1S.xxviii,13-20,where observe that the dead person invoked is called elohim; Is.viii,19, xxix,4). Hence the practice of incubation Is.lxv,4). We have already shown that the departed were believed to have the power of helping or injuring their descendants (see p.24). It will be sufficient to observe here that it follows from Is.lxiii,16, that Abraham and Israel were conceived as protectors of their descendants."(7) (see Cheyne and Duhm in loc.)

(1) Immortality & the Unseen World, 108f.; E.Bi.II,1337.
 (2) Ibid.,1337,par.5. (3) Ibid.,1338,par.6. (4) Ibid.,1338,par.8. (5) Gn.xv,15; xlvii,30; xxv,8; xlix,29-33; Num.xx,26; xxvii,13; Dt.xxxii,50; Jud.ii,10; viii,32 &c.
 (6) History of Religion in the O.T.,26. (7) Critical History &c.,39f.

At an early time arose the idea of Sheol, perhaps conceived as a combination of the graves of the clan or nation'.(1) Oesterley ascribes it to Babylonian influence, and in a later book, as mediated through the Canaanites, as Loehr too would agree.(2) Cook's comment is interesting-

"After all, the belief in Sheol scarcely seems to be a primitive one, since it implies acquaintance with city life (gates and bars, Is. xxxviii, 10; Job xvii, 16)" (3)

Lods does not think it to be borrowed, but held by the Israelites before they entered Palestine, and in common with other primitive nations. First came the belief in the life of the dead in the tomb, and then the belief in Sheol.(4) That this is the true order is undoubted, however we settle the question of origin.

Sheol was conceived of as an underworld, (e.g. in Amos ix, 2) and naturally was thought of as dark and sad; but life there was not considered as almost equivalent to annihilation, at first at any rate. Life went on pretty much as here, with the same feelings and social distinctions.(5) In death as in life Samuel disapproves of Saul, and the practice of necromancy, in this as in other cases, shows the enhanced knowledge of the dead. The future is now open to them; they are elohim, though, it may be, not of a high order. Against this may be set the word 'rephaim', usually translated 'shades', and used of the dwellers in Sheol. (e.g. in Is. xiv, 9f.) (6) Rephaim is also known

(1) E.Bi., 1339, par. 10.; (2) Immortality & the Unseen World, chap. vii, 80-94; Oesterley & Robinson, Hebrew Religion, 321; Loehr, Op. Cit., 53f. (3) S.A. Cook, The O.T., 133; On point see also Oesterley & Robinson, 321, & R.A.S. Macalister, Century of Excavation in Palestine, 315f. who say somewhat the same. (4) La Croyance &c. I, 207ff. (5) E.Bi. II, 1340f. par 16. (6) Immortality & the Unseen World, 63-71 gives the passages where it is used of the departed.

as the name of an ancient race of giants, which hardly connotes weakness.(1) The older passages in which it is used of the dead give the same impression,(2) and since the derivation of the word is uncertain we may at least conjecture that it did not imply weakness. To this add the fact that the rephaim had bodies, even if shadowy ones. "The departed in Sheol are never designated simply 'souls'. The early Israelites were metaphysically unable to conceive the body without psychical functions, or the soul without a certain corporeity. The departed were conceived, accordingly, as possessing not only a soul but also a shadowy body".(3)

Cook from a different point of view leads us to the same position- "Man is flesh (basar) and flesh comprised what we would call body and mind- for the intellectual and emotional faculties are found in the body itself. Man was 'an animated body and not an incarnated soul'".(4)

It is significant also to remember how Enoch and Elijah were translated.(5) These were exceptional and miraculous incidents, but "they belong to an early period in Hebrew thought when immortality was inconceivable for man if soul and body were sundered. Hence soul and body must be translated together."(6)

These incidents look back to the primitive conception, but they look forward too. "As it was a life of communion with God that led, though uniquely, to the translation of Enoch and Elijah, so it was from the same spiritual root that the immortality of all who enjoyed such communion was derived in later centuries".(7)

In communion, not union, with God lay the Hebrew hope.

(1) Immortality & the Unseen World, 72-4, where the passages are noted and discussed. (2) Ibid., 73, 67-70. (3) E. Bi., II, 1341, par. 18. (4) The O. T., 139. (The quotation is from Wheeler Robinson) (5) Gn. v, 22ff., 2K. ii, 11. (6) Charles, Critical History &c. 56. (7) Ibid., 57.

There is however, another view of the dead which we must take into account. It is well exhibited in some of the other passages dealing with the rephaim.(1) They are spoken of as trembling, as weak, as in a place from which there is no return. Other passages which refer to them show that the dead go down to silence,(Ps.cxv,17) that they do not remember God,(Ps.vi,5) nor God them,(Ps.lxxxviii,5), and there the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.(Job iii,17) A place of silence and passionless peace with a minimum of real existence, is the impression left on the mind. Sheol has now become like the Aralu of the Babylonians and the Hades of the Greeks, while the rephaim have become no better than the 'phantoms of men outworn'. What is it that has made the difference? A better knowledge of God, is the answer.

It was the work of Moses to make Jahveh the God of Israel, and Israel the people of Jahveh.(2) From the beginning Jahveh was, in the familiar phrase, a God with a character. He is always represented as having chosen the people as His own, and so as desiring them to live up to what that implied. Misconceptions as to His character gradually gave way to fuller knowledge, and in the light of that many things, done before as a matter of course, were seen to be incompatible with a true worship of the God of Israel by the best minds in the nation. Obviously

(1) Job xxvi,5; Ps.lxxxviii,10; Is.xiv,9f.; xxvi,14; Prov. ii,18f.; ix,18; xxi,16.Cf.Immortality & the Unseen World, 63f.(2) E.O.James, The O.T.in the Light of Anthropology, 91f.; Charles, Critical History &c.,5, 7f.

what in effect was worship of the dead fell into this category. The result was that doctrine of Sheol which emptied the life of the dead of all real content, and the polemic against necromancy, and against certain mourning customs which implied a cult of the dead. A man was required, for example, when he paid his tithes, to state that he had not offered any part of them to the dead.(Dt.xxvi,14) Macalister puts it well, if strongly-

"We must infer that the doctrine of Sheol was an artificial teaching, devised, adopted, and proclaimed by the prophets, expressly for the purpose of securing that Yahweh should have no rival whatever in the worship of His people. The traditional beliefs of the Hebrews as to the dead were utterly heathenish; they had to be destroyed before purer and more spiritual beliefs could take their place!"(1)

The result was that 'singularly hopeless' view of the after life which is commonly felt about so much of the Old Testament. God dealt with the nation, not with the individual as such, and with the living, not with the dead. The dead were in Sheol, away from life and from light, and God had nothing to do with Sheol.(Cf.e.g.Ps.lxxxviii,4f.)

We cannot follow the development in detail, but it may be enough to say that with the Exile and after the individual became more important; (2) the anomalies of life made individuals ask, like Job, if another life were not required to redress the balance of this one; while a fuller knowledge of God made people like the writer of Ps.73 state that such a relation as that in which they stood implied

(1) Century of Excavation in Palestine, 316. (2) E.Bi.II, 1343f.(Charles) Expanded in Critical History, 58-81.

permanence. In the words of Jesus, God was not a God of the dead but of the living. Life with God was possible here, and from the nature of the case that would continue. God comes to have jurisdiction even in Sheol, and it has become the 'intermediate abode of righteous Israelites', though 'it remains the eternal abode of all the rest of mankind'.(1) The nation, however, is not lost sight of, and during the Maccabean struggle it again rose to prominence. God would set up His Messianic Kingdom, and the saints who had died for their faith would be raised to enjoy their share of it, while apostate Israelites would be raised for punishment.(2) A resurrection of the dead in connection with the setting up of the kingdom is contemplated a little earlier in Is.xxvi,19. So there comes, as Charles shows, a synthesis of national and individual hope. The righteous shall be raised, and find their future life of blessedness in the Messianic Kingdom.(3)

But this was a return to the old hope in a more refined form. The weary shades in Sheol vanish, and the life of the dead is seen to have a real content. Archaeology shows that the older view continued as the popular view,(4) and attempts to discredit it show that it still was active. The popular view went astray in its practices, but was right in its insistence on a true life for the dead.(5) The mind reacts against teaching so hopeless as the later Sheol. A true view of God made possible the 'hope of personal survival in an active and conscious after life'!(6)

(1) Charles, Critical History, 161; (2) Dn.xii,2.(3) E.Bi.II, 1354; Critical History, 130.(4) Macalister, Op.Cit., 316.(5) Immortality & the Unseen World, 203f. (6) James, The O.T.in the Light of Anthropology, 80, where this view is stated.

5- The Graeco- Roman Period.

The conquests of Alexander the Great broke down the barriers between east and west, and so fixed the character of the three centuries which followed. Greek culture permeated the east, and Oriental religions flooded the west. It was an age of 'syncretism', and in that extraordinary melange all sorts of ideas met and mingled. "All the streams which hitherto had flowed separately now converged into one composite culture where diverse social, philosophical and religious currents coursed through the corporate life of every community".(1) "And nowhere was this process of fusion more conspicuous than in the sphere of religion".(2) Hellenism was the integrating spirit, and the expansion of Roman dominion ultimately held all together in one great system. Only Judaism held itself apart, but even Judaism was affected to some extent. Judaism, however, was the only one of the great national religions of the time which was really alive, for it made converts in all the social circles of the time.(3) The state religions of Greece and Rome were no doubt held in honour, but were dead.

(1) A.C.Purdy in Jew & Greek, 212. (2) Ibid., 213.

(3) S.Angus, The Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World, 54.

The age, however, was not by any means devoid of religion, and Angus sets before us, as the 'four main religious refuges' of the time, 'Judaism, Greek moral and Greek mystical philosophy, the Mystery-religions, and Christianity'.(1) That background to all religious movements, popular belief, continued in the main what it always was. Indeed 'periods of economic distress or prolonged warfare' such as this was, are apt, Prof. Gilbert Murray tells us, to bring about 'a decline of culture and a revival of primitive beliefs'.(2) A look through the long chapter which Montague Summers writes on the 'Vampire in Greece and Rome' shows that very unpleasant primitive belief, or something very like it still plaguing the world.(3) Prof. Murray, losing for once that insight which is so delightful in his studies of the Greeks, looks upon Resurrection also as such a survival:- "It seems as if the physical Resurrection of the Body was the only form in which the doctrine of immortality could be grasped by the very ignorant populations of the villages and big manufacturing towns of Asia Minor".(4) And again- "It was a concession to the uneducated, who would not be content with a 'life everlasting' of the soul alone, freed from bodily substance and form, and perhaps even from personality".(5) It is, of course, an assumption that the Platonic doctrine of the immortality of the soul is necessarily higher than the Christian one, but the two

(1) Op.Cit., 47. (2) In Christianity in the Light of Modern Knowledge, Chap.iii,(Religion & Philosophy) P.69. (3) The Vampire in Europe, 1-65. (4) Op.Cit.,49. See also Five Stages of Greek Religion, 165. (5) Op.Cit., 78.

quotations are interesting as showing that he believes resurrection to be the popular belief. Angus also deplores the Christian belief in resurrection, but he ascribes it to the influence of Judaism.(1) One would never think, to read these two, that the early Church had from the beginning taught the resurrection of Christ, and that her own doctrine of the resurrection rested, more than on any other thing, on that belief. No doubt popular belief, and the Judaistic doctrine of the resurrection, were useful as a preparation for the acceptance and the dissemination of this teaching about Jesus, but they certainly did not give rise to it. Rather does the resurrection of Christians depend upon that of Christ.(2) That, at any rate, is what Paul argues in writing to the Corinthians, who do not seem to have found it easy to accept the resurrection.(3) In the resurrection of Jesus, then, we have the seal set upon that primitive instinct, grotesque and ill-informed as it so often seemed to be in its expression, which would not allow the body, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, to be treated as if it did not matter.

The worship of heroes continued all through the period, and was still in vogue when Pausanias wrote, as we have seen. Sometimes the heroes were worshipped before they were dead, as in the case of Alexander and many of his successors; and

(1) Op.Cit., 124. (2) J. Baillie, *And the Life Everlasting*, 59, 139ff. (3) ICor.xv, 16-23.

indeed Caesar-worship in the Empire was simply an outcome and continuation of the previous practice of divinising kings.(1) But Pearson regards the heroization of living men as leading to the degradation of the belief.(2) It began with a worship of the dead, and the cult was carried on at the grave, since the power of the hero is bound up with his physical remains.(3) In Boeotia and Thessaly the word hero was early applied to the dead, and was the customary word, so that it was used even of children and slaves. When the practice reached its last phase it had returned to this, for it was 'the family-worship of the souls of the dead.'(4) Cicero, always interesting in himself, is even more so for our purpose since he is a typical man of the Graeco-Roman civilisation. His position in regard to the dead is usually an agnostic one, Warde Fowler tells us,(5) and the letter of condolence written to him by Servius Sulpicius seems uncertain too,(6) but the letters to Atticus (XII, 12-40) tell a different tale. His beloved and only daughter, Tullia died early in 45 B.C. In these letters, says Warde Fowler, "we may be startled

to find him thinking of her as still in some sense surviving, and as divine rather than human: as a deity or spirit to whom a 'fanum' could be erected. He makes it clear to Atticus, who is acting as his business agent at Rome, that he does not want a mere tomb (sepulchrum), but a 'fanum', which, as we have seen, was the general word for a spot of ground sacred to a deity. 'I wish to have a 'fanum' built, and that wish cannot be rooted out of my heart. I am anxious to avoid any likeness to a tomb, not so much on account of the penalty of the law,

(1) E.R.E., iii, (Art.-Caesarism) esp. p. 52; vi, 655b.
(2) Ibid., vi, 655b. (3) Nilsson, History of Greek Religion, 104. (4) E.R.E., vi, 656a. (5) The Religious Experience of the Roman People, 387. (6) Ibid., 387; See also J. Baillie, And the Way Everlasting, 72, where there is a quotation from it.

as in order to attain as nearly as possible to an apotheosis'(Ad Att. XII, 36)... He really seems to want Tullia to be thought of as having passed into the sphere of divinity, however vaguely he may have conceived of it. Perhaps he remembered his own words in Scipio's dream, 'Deum te esse scito'. The ashes of Tullia rested in the family tomb, but the godlike thing imprisoned in her mortal body was to be honoured at this 'fanum', which, strange as it may seem to us, her father wished to erect in a public and frequented place. She does not fade away into the common herd of Manes, but remains, though as a spirit, the same individual Tullia whom her father had loved so dearly."(1)

The whole quotation is interesting as showing the effect on a man of culture in a highly civilised age, of the sudden and staggering loss of one who was dearly beloved. We might almost call it reversion to a primitive belief; or if that be too strong, we may say that it helps to give us some insight into the growth of hero- and ancestor-worship.

If the Roman state cult persisted only in a ceremonial fashion, family religion, especially in country districts, was still strong. Ovid, perhaps with some amusement at the ludicrousness of it, shows us the house-father, by means of a ritual in which black beans figure, ridding the family dwelling of ancestral spirits,(2) while the Roman love of order was extended even into the world of the dead, and the shades allowed to come from their own place when the 'mundus' was open.(3) The dead, however, were no weaklings, they were the 'Di Manes'.(4) The Roman burial rite was generally cremation, though that burial lay behind it is shown by the fact that a bone had to be

(1) Religious Experience &c. 385f. See also p. 388, where this view is shown also in the Consolatio. (2) Golden Bough, ix, 154f.; W. Warde Fowler, Op. Cit., 85, 393 & note. (3) Ibid., 39, 106. (4) Ibid., 341 &c.

kept and buried.(1) This was supposed to send the soul of the dead to his own place. The soul of Augustus, according to Suetonius,(2) was seen to soar to heaven from the pyre, but a note indicates that Dio had some suspicion of this. At any rate it gives us a hint of what cremation was supposed to accomplish.

The Celts had their cult of the dead, and the Celts within our period formed a good part of the population of the Empire.(3) The Druids are credited with a complete and elaborate doctrine of immortality, with 'a funerary practice to match'.(4) They had their hero-cult also, for 'the Tuatha De Danann and the Fomorians are always represented as men who have lived on earth and retired into death... They dwell in tombs, which are actual megalithic tombs... The Celts liked this funereal aspect of their gods; their pantheon might be described as a cemetery... Their (Ireland) cults were ancestor worships and their feasts were commemorations'.(5)

In Egypt too, there had been something like a fusion of the Greek and Egyptian religions under the Ptolemies. Greek gods were equated with Egyptian ones, a new god-Sarapis-was invented, and some Egyptian gods were simply taken over. But the attempt was practically a failure. Osiris was still worshipped alongside Sarapis, the imported elements disappeared, and the natives simply held to their old ways.(6)

(1) W.Warde Fowler, *Op.Cit.*, 84; (2) *Life of Octavius Caesar Augustus*, c.100. Broadway Translation, 128, & note. (3) J.A.MacCulloch, *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, Chap.x. (4) Henri Hubert, *Greatness & Decline of the Celts*, 231f.; MacCulloch, *Op.Cit.*, 307f. (5) Hubert, *Op.Cit.*, 239f.; MacCulloch, Chap.v. (6) J.G.Milne, *E.R.E.*, vi, 374b.-384, esp. 383b.f.

Mummies were made during the whole time, and well into Roman times. Indeed in Graeco-Roman times mummies were kept in the house for years, and there honoured, just as an African keeps and honours his father's head at the present day.(1)

Even the scepticism of the time bears witness to the presence of primitive ideas, for Lucretius, preaching the inevitability of death, tells us he does so to free men from the fear of Hades and its torments,(2) a belief which Warde Fowler would derive from early acquaintance with Etruscan art, itself dependent on Greek art and myth.(3) Bailey notes the same thing, but thinks Lucretius greatly exaggerated the popular fear of punishment.(4) That the ideas are known to exist is sufficient for our purpose.

It is however, time to return to those 'main religious refuges' of which Angus has told us. Philosophy is only once mentioned in the New Testament, (Col.ii,8) and there it is coupled with vain deceit. As a mere matter of fact Christians were not much concerned with it. The uneducated were hardly touched by it, and therefore Christians were not, thinks Gilbert Murray.(5) This is probably true of direct influence, but philosophy, and especially Platonism, was almost the intellectual atmosphere of the time, and atmosphere has a way of permeating everything. But even direct influence is not lacking, as the New Testament it-

(1) Flinders Petrie, E.R.E., xi, 736a; 2 Warde Fowler, 390f.; Lucretius, iii, 31-93, 1053-1094 &c. Munro's Translation, 84ff, 119ff. (Bohn's Library). (3) P. 391. (4) Cyril Bailey, Phases in the Religion of Ancient Rome, 196. (5) In Christianity in the Light of Modern Knowledge, 45.

self bears witness.(1) Some Jews seem to have studied Greek philosophy directly. Charles finds the author of the Wisdom of Solomon 'a student of this philosophy, though a superficial one'.(2) From Plato and those who came after he adopts the view that matter and therefore the body, are evil; that the body is the prison-house of the soul; that the soul has lived before and will again since by its very nature it is immortal.(3) His beautiful words about the souls of the righteous are well-known, (iii,1-4) and set forth their immortal hope with vigour and fitness. Philo, reckoned almost a Christian author by the early Church,(4) mentions Plato 'next to Moses and with almost equal reverence'(5). For him- "As matter was

incurably evil there could of course be no resurrection of the body. Our present life in the body is death; for the body is the 'utterly polluted prison' of the soul (De Migr. Abr.ii; Mangey, ii,437): nay, more, it is its sepulchre (Quod Deus immut.xxxii); our 'soma' is our 'sema'(Leg. Alleg.i, 33)."(6)

Justin Martyr too, it will be remembered, was a Platonist who was inclined to give Plato part of the credit for leading him to Christ. Directly then, and indirectly through authors like those mentioned, and also through Stoicism and Neo-Platonism, Greek Philosophy prepared for and had an influence upon Christianity. The Church, however, while teaching the doctrine of immortality, turned decisively away from the Platonic presentation of it. With Israel

(1) G.H.C.MacGregor, *Jew & Greek*, 240ff. (2) *Critical History &c.*, 307. (3) *Ibid.*, 308ff. (4) E.von Dobschütz, in *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, ii, 227b. (5) *Ibid.*, 229b. (6) Charles, *Critical History &c.*, 314.

before her, she believed that the soul was not inherently immortal, but can win immortality through life in God.(1) For her the body is not a prison-house, nor a tomb, nor a 'muddy vesture of decay' which the soul inhabits as it has inhabited others. Polluted the body may be by evil use, but it is not ineradicably evil and so a thing to be rid of as speedily as possible. Man is a unity of body and soul, and it is the man who is redeemed by Christ. So she did not teach the resurrection of the body as a concession to ignorant people who could not take in the lofty Platonic doctrine of the immortality of the soul. The resurrection of the body was part of her own doctrine of immortality, and that of deliberate choice, for she found it in the Judaism amid which she grew up, and found it confirmed when her Lord rose from the dead. The primitive instinct that would not let the body go found its fulfilment at last in the Christian Faith.

One tenet which is found in practically all the religious movements of the time- the ascent of the soul- may be classed with the influences upon Christianity from the side of philosophy. Stoics, Pythagoreans, Platonists, Hermeticists, Gnostics, the adherents of the Mystery-Religions, particularly the Mithraists, all held it in some form or other.(2) We cannot say when it first appeared, so remote is its origin, but it must have begun in reflection on the abode of the

(1) Charles, Critical History &c. 80, note 1.

(2) Angus, Religious Quests &c., 295.

dead. That was located, as we saw, in the tomb, then in the lower parts of the earth, or the distant west, or the Islands of the Blessed, or in the sky, and at last in the highest heaven.(1) The Orphics were the first to teach in the west that the souls of men had fallen from their high estate through sin, but after rebirths, and purification, and judgment, the initiate was able to say: "I am a child of earth and of starry Heaven, but my race is of Heaven alone".(2) Following them the Pythagoreans removed Elysium to the sky, and so were'the first to preach celestial immortality to Greece and Southern Italy'.(3) We cannot follow the belief through all its phases and varieties, but generally it was held that the soul disencumbered of that hindrance the body, ascended into its own sphere, for by its nature it is akin to the heavens.(4) At last, and as a consummation, came a union with the blessed gods.(5) Though the teaching about the body is one which we have found Christianity rejecting, yet the view of the soul's ascent is one which had its influence on the Christian belief in heaven, as a passage like IICor.xii, 2ff.shows. Perhaps, afar off, we can see its first dim origin in the orientation in prehistoric tombs.

This belief in the soul's ascent has a prominent place in the so-called Mystery-Religions. These were private cults as opposed to the state religions of the times. By

(1) Angus, Op.Cit.,296. (2) Ibid.,297 (the translation is from Miss Harrison's Prolegomena,660). (3) Ibid.,298. (4) Ibid., 304. (5) Ibid.,312.

the very fact that he was born in a land a man became a sharer in the religion of the country. Religion of such a kind might be very formal indeed, but there was likely to be more of warmth and reality in a voluntary association for worship. This might arise, Bevan tells us,(1) in one of three ways. The cult of a conquered people might survive in secret under the conquerors, as is the case with the Eleusinian mysteries. Foreigners in another state might carry on their own worship in secret, as say, Phrygian slaves might do in some Greek city. An individual might start a mystery cult of his own for religious or convivial purposes.

In considering Greek religion we have already looked at the Orphic and Eleusinian Mysteries, and it will be unnecessary to consider them again. In both there is a death and a rising again, in the one case that of Dionysos, in the other that of the grain. This feature is prominent also in the Mysteries of Cybele, of Isis, of Adonis, and of Sabazios, all of which spread during our period. It is wanting in Mithraism, which was not important in the New Testament period, but became so later.(2) It seems to have dealt with the descent and ascent of the soul, but in the taurobolium, or baptism in bull's blood, the votary was supposed to die, and then to be 'reborn into eternity'(3) The rite, however, seems originally to have been connected with the Cybele cult.(4)

(1) Chap.iv (Mystery Religions) in Christianity in the Light of Modern Knowledge, 87-92. (2) Jew & Greek, 281. Bevan, Op.Cit., 102; Jew & Greek, 284. (4) Grant Showerman, E.R.E., 214 (Art. Taurobolium.)

As it will not be possible to go into these cults in any detail, it may suffice to give the points in which they agree, as set forth by Angus.(1) Man has a divine element imprisoned within which must be released to ascend to its heavenly source. Solemn initiation is a necessity for salvation; cathartic rites are needed to wash away sin; sacramental grace is imparted; there must be participation in, or repetition of the experiences of the Deity; the uplift of communion or even identification with the Deity; and the sure promise of immortality to members, while those who neglect their opportunity have a sad destiny awaiting them. Much of this is of little use for our purpose, but some interesting points are present, even though they are not always consistent with each other. 'The devotee', for example, 'could become one with his god in his death and resurrection'.(2) On the other hand, the ascent of the soul seems to imply a quite different view of the body from resurrection, but that probably did not trouble the initiates at all. To the majority of them philosophical arguments were unlikely to make much appeal, but the emotional experience of initiation and the sure hope of immortality held out by that would come home to them, though some made assurance doubly sure by being initiated into several Mystery Cults. That immortality usually came to them through union or communion with one who had it

(1) Op.Cit.,76. (2) Ibid.,81.

already, which seems to have been an old idea also. It is to be found at the very beginning of Egyptian history in the worship of Osiris, and it must be older even than that. However it came about, men, already akin to the divine, were deified, and being of the race of the immortals, put on deathlessness.(1) So much was this so that one writer has called the religion of the mystery cults an 'agency for purveying immortality.'(2) Probably the Mysteries had not nearly so much influence upon Christianity as is sometimes supposed,(3) but our interest in them is just this, that, deriving as they all did from primitive nature worship,(4) they let us see that primitive ideas about death and survival were still active in the world into which Christianity was born.

As Christianity is the daughter of Judaism, she naturally owed more to that religion than to any other.(5) To it she must have been indebted for the doctrine of the resurrection, for that doctrine is simply taken for granted in the Synoptic Gospels, and except for the question of the Sadducees on the 'day of questions'(6), we get no hint that there was any other known. This presupposes a development in Judaism, for the Old Testament does not give any prominence to the question of individual resurrection. As we have seen it is only in late books that the question arises at all. The Sadducees probably stood by the Old Testament, and denied

(1) Angus, Op.Cit., 78f. (2) J. Baillie, And the Life Everlasting, 160. (3) Jew & Greek, 208ff. (4) Ibid., 277. (5) Ibid., 43; Angus, 54ff. (6) Mk. xii, 18-27 & parallels. See also Jew & Greek, 46f.

the validity of the development. It is likely that they held to the Sheol conception, though they may have been moving in the direction of Greek ideas.(1) Wotherspoon tells us that in the Jewish literature of the time three views are current- the traditional Sheol doctrine, 'a doctrine, variously held, of resurrection', and 'a Platonic doctrine of immortality'.(2) The last we have already found in the well-known passage in the Wisdom of Solomon and in Philo, the first is clearly seen in Ecclus.xvii,28, while the belief in resurrection is stated both strongly and crudely in IIMac.vii. Traces of older beliefs are also to be found, for the old story of the raising of Samuel is referred to in Ecclus.xlvi,20, and in terms which do not at all fit the Sheol belief accepted in that book;(3) while the Book of Tobit more than once emphasises the importance of burial, and may even, in its original form, be a story with the familiar theme of 'the grateful dead.' The general form of this theme is that a man accords decent burial to an exposed corpse, and is later helped by a stranger, who turns out to be the grateful dead man.(4) In the story as we have it an angel called Raphael is the helper, but there can be no doubt that burial is regarded as a matter of great moment.(5) It is so, for that matter, in Judaism always, and certainly in our period, for 'a rich man would be buried in the family burying-place "with his fathers",

(1) Jew & Greek, 98f. (2) Dictionary of Christ & the Gospels, II, 514b-5. (3) "He shewed the king his end, and lifted up his voice from the earth". (4) Oesterley, An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha, 165f. See also E.Bi.iv, 5126-8. (5) Tob.xii,12f. (where the angel was witness of the burial of the dead); i,17; ii,3,7; iv,3f.

and the poor in a public cemetery outside the walls'.(1) Cremation was never a Jewish practice except in case of emergency, and Amos (ii,1) condemns the burning of the bones of the king of Edom to lime by Moab as an atrocious act. This may be simply because of the meanness of so desecrating the bones of the dead, or as seems more likely because it was believed to harm the dead.(2)

Burial then, was the Jewish custom, and nearly always the tomb was rock-hewn.(3) It is of interest surely, to find the primitive mode so long in use, and to find along with it at last, as the prevailing belief in the time of our Lord, the doctrine of resurrection. It is significant that when Christianity became the religion of the Empire, earth-burial became again the accepted manner of the disposal of the dead, and it has so continued till our own time.

The uncleanness caused by contact with death or the dead was still in vogue, and called for the purification laid down in the Law.(4) Contact with a tomb caused such defilement, and, on the eve of the Passover, sepulchres were rendered conspicuous by being whitewashed or covered with plaster. This is the point of Jesus' reference to the Scribes and Pharisees as 'whited sepulchres', (Mt.xxiii,27) or 'graves which appear not', (Lk.xi,44) and of Paul's reference to the High Priest as a 'whited wall'. (Acts, xxiii,3) It is interesting to find that the custom still

(1) J.Garstang in Christianity in the Light of Modern Knowledge, 135. (2) West.Comm. on Amos, E.A.Edgehill, 17f. (3) Garstang, Op.Cit., supra, 135. (4) See esp. Num.19.

persists, since 'at the present day the whitewashed slabs covering Mohammedan graves around Jerusalem glitter in the sunshine and easily attract notice'.(1) No doubt the defilement was purely ceremonial in our Lord's time- though popular belief may have had its own word on the subject- but originally the 'uncleanness' rested on the danger of contact with a mysterious and easily angered and impure power- the power of the dead.(2)

In Judaism there is no uniformity of belief as to the hereafter; the resurrection being the only belief held in common by practically all.(3) With the disappearance of the Sadducees this was certainly the belief which survived. There is no reason why it should not have arisen by way of inner development in Jewish thought, but it is generally agreed that the belief was shaped and fostered by the influence of Persian eschatology.(4) "The firm belief in

a life hereafter, the optimistic hope of a regeneration of the present world and of a general resurrection of the dead, are characteristic articles in the faith of Persia in antiquity".(5)

The same general statement might also be applied as a summary of later Jewish hopes about the future, especially as witnessed to by Apocalyptic. Prophecy was mainly interested in the fate of the nation, but for all men at last there was simply 'Sheol, the unblessed abode of shades'.(6)

"Every advance on this heathen conception we owe to apocalyptic. The belief in a blessed future life springs,

(1) T.Nicol, H.D.B.,iv,457b. (2) Ibid.,825b.ff.(Art.Unclean, uncleanness) E.Bi.836ff.vol.I.(Art.Clean & Unclean,Holy & Profane) Karsten,Origins of Religion,67ff.,238f.(3) Jew & Greek, 129. (4) Ibid.,131.;Charles,Critical History,140f. (5) Religion & the Future Life,122.(A.V.Williams Jackson) (6) Charles, Op.Cit.,178.

not from prophecy, but from apocalyptic".(1)

The general framework of apocalyptic hope was- a period of present suffering, followed by the defeat of the wicked by the manifestation of God's power, the resurrection of the dead, judgment and the end of the present age, then the new age with its promise of bliss for the people of God.(2)

Sometimes the kingdom to come was an earthly kingdom, later there was to be a new heaven and a new earth, but whichever of these was believed in, it was for the righteous a life more or less like the present, but with all the imperfections and disabilities taken away by the gracious power of God. The bodies too which shall rise will have to begin with their imperfections as they had them in life, but here too God will be at work to remove every defect and to fit them for their new existence.(3) The bodies are sometimes quite material bodies, at other times they are glorious ones like those of the angels.(4) It is the old Jewish hope perfected- the perfect man in the perfect kingdom, with God's care over all; and the perfect man was what God made him to be- a unity of soul and body.(5) In that faith Jesus grew up, and his apostles, and Paul also. Jesus took the resurrection for granted, and in His answer to the Sadducees stressed the nature of the resurrection body, which is like that of the angels. Like all else in the thought of Jesus, his answer depended upon His conception of God.

(1) Charles, Op.Cit., 178. (2) Jew & Greek, 135. (3) Life beyond Death, 140-145. (4) Ibid., 141. (5) Ibid., 138.

They were greatly in error in not realising the power of God, Who was not limited to one order of existence, but could make others if that were His purpose. Then too they were greatly in error owing to ignorance of their own scriptures. God was the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, and when God admits a man to such a relationship it is no mere temporary arrangement. It will outlast death.(1) God being what He is, He will not fail His people, merely because they happen to have died.

From Christ's words then, such as those which we have just paraphrased, and from their experiences of His Resurrection, and as a background, from that Jewish faith in which they were nurtured, the early Christians built up their belief in the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting.

(1) Mk.xii,18-27. See Prin.Denney's treatment of the passage in *The Way Everlasting*, 212ff. Also Peake's Commentary, 695b.

Conclusion.

We have come, then, to the end of our wide survey. Being so wide, it could hardly be minute, but at least it has given us some conception, by the help of Archaeology, Ethnology, Folklore, and the History of Religion, of what primitive beliefs about the dead were.

There is the belief in survival itself, an impressive fact, for 'primitive religion disbelieves in death'.⁽¹⁾ Everywhere, and at all times, man has believed in survival and acted upon it. It is one of the things a missionary does not need to teach; it is everywhere assumed and understood. Wherever we can get at beliefs at all this belief emerges. No doubt to begin with it depended on the observed difference between the living and the dead, that something obviously had happened, that something obviously had gone; on the almost instinctive revulsion in human nature against the brutal and disconcerting fact of death; on the phenomena of dreams, visions, hallucinations, and other like things, which suggested that the dead were alive, and what it was that survived; on the resemblances between living people and the dead, which also suggested

(1) Crawley, the Tree of Life, 47; quoted in the Religious Experience of the Roman People, by W. Warde Fowler, 69.

that they were the dead alive again. Probably the question of the duration of it was not raised at first. It is seldom raised even yet among primitive folk except when suggested from outside. But when man did begin to think on it, he thought perhaps on an alternation of life and death going on always, or for a time, or with a final death; or on life just going on and on without cease. At first there was little moral content, though some primitive folks were anxious that some at any rate should not live much of a life, if we are to judge from the trussed up form of the Chancelade skeleton. Later, a moral content was gradually added. It is only fair to say, however, that everyone is not agreed that there is lack of moral content. Warde Fowler protests against such an assumption in regard to the old Latin family religion,(1) while Malinowski says definitely- "We shall see that every religion, however humble, carries also instructions for a good life; it invariably provides its followers with an ethical system"(2)

Then there is the refusal to accept the fact of death. It was felt to be unnatural, an intrusion. It was not in the original plan for man, and so simply should not be there. This is behind those stories, naive and ludicrous often, which purport to explain the fact of death. The Hebrews had such a story, as we saw. It is possible that, very early, death was explained as the breaking of a taboo, later, certainly, it was put down as due to disobedience

(1) Religious Experience of the Roman People, 63.

(2) Bronislaw Malinowski, The Foundations of Faith and Morals, 2. (An anthropological analysis of primitive beliefs and conduct with special reference to the fundamental problems of religion and ethics, is how he describes this course of lectures.)

and sin, an act of disobedience which cut man off from God.

The question of what survived, was probably not raised at first. It was assumed that the man did. What was his was put beside him against the time when he would need it, and his life as a man was just to go on. Later, though very early, came the reflection on the subject which decided that a double survived, such as that seen in dreams. It was like the body, but was not the body. It was the soul, a material thing, and located in material things like blood and breath and heart, but not so material as the body. Perhaps after the rise of cremation, which seemed practically to destroy the body, there grew up an approximation to our idea of spirit. Primitive man's idea of a soul as the principle of life still holds the field, though freed from the limitations of his thinking. Now, when Christians ask what survives, they show they have returned to the first idea. The whole man survives- man in his familiar nature- soul and body, or body, soul, and spirit. Anything less would not be man. The complete personality is there, and not a part of it only. The individual lives on in his whole being. Christ never contemplates a merely ghostly eternity; if men are to be immortal they must rise .(1) For Jewish thought, and therefore for Christian thought too, personal life was an

(1) H.J. Wotherspoon, Dictionary of Christ & the Gospels, II, 516a.

indissoluble unity of soul and body.(1)

Burial customs give us light on several things. They began at first perhaps from a desire to protect the body, perhaps sometimes from a desire to restrain it. Later there was the desire to benefit the dead, by making him comfortable, and seeing that he lacked for nothing, or sending him to his own place with a proper provision for the new life. There may have been the wish also to release the soul, and speed the parting guest, perhaps after attempts to destroy the dead had failed. They are always a witness in all forms to the instinct that the body is not negligible- a discarded tool.

Then- What was the life of the dead? The same as this, or perhaps more powerful or better. Love wished that; fear was afraid of that, afraid of the power of the dead, and especially of the strange dead. Certainly there was no idea at first of the dead as weak and impotent, for the dead are credited with all sorts of power and knowledge. Death has added to their potency; they are among the supernatural beings; and so came ancestor worship and the cult of the dead. At first the dead were thought to live in the tomb, like a man in a house, only with differences and inversions. This belief lingered on beside all others. Then came the idea of a place of the dead, a social life of the dead, so to speak, which we find in developed form

(1) J.M.Shaw, Dictionary of the Apostolic Church, II, 356a.

form in Judaism and Christianity, for the living man after the resurrection is a member of a perfected community. At first the dead live in the underworld, the aggregate of tombs, or in the far west, or at the ends of the earth. At length heaven is for the powerful and later for the good, while the underworld is left for common people, and then for the wicked. And the life of the dead is true life for God's people; not duration merely, but the only true life-life in God.

Immortality too was not inherent in man, but was something which could be ensured or given. That is why primitive man took every means he knew to make sure that his dead should live. So he resorted to 'givers of life'. Fire was very likely the first, when he tried to supply vital warmth by burial near the hearth. Certainly he used blood and that surrogate for blood, red ochre; then supplies of mystic power from heads and horns, from enduring things like gold and jade, from shells which by their shape suggested entrance on life, from statuettes of the mother or the fertility goddess, the giver of life herself. The dead were put into a position which looks like a hope and almost a prayer. Man certainly did his best to ensure that his dead would live. People who had this life were of course the people who could give it, like the fertility goddess, like the great men of the clan who were sure to live on, like kings, who were gods on earth. I think some people were

even willing to die with their chiefs and kings, that they might be with them, and share their immortality; some wives certainly did it with their husbands. Rationalism later explained that immortality was a perquisite of the gods. In that case man must enter into the family of the gods, must identify himself somehow with the gods- a demand which issued at last in the Mysteries and the Mystery Religions. He enters into the experience of the gods; like them he overcomes death, like them he possesses immortality. Last comes the great thought: immortality is God's alone, but man is capable of rising into fellowship with Him, and by that very relationship, rises to immortality. Christ revealed that; His Resurrection confirmed it; and His power and indwelling ensure it. Men receive, through Him, power to become the sons of God.

When the germ of the Christian doctrine of immortality was sown in the soil of the time there were many elements already present there. Some it rejected, as we have seen, but it fed on many of them, drawing them into itself, and in the process transforming them, and among them were some which came down from the first dim ages of mankind. Our Lord gave substance to the hopes and longings of all men, and even to the pitiful and futile and misguided efforts of very primitive men, when he brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel.

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